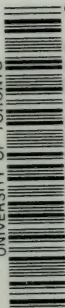


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THE ANABASIS OF
XENOPHON.

VOL. II.



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THE ANABASIS OF
XENOPHON,

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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WITH NOTES, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

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NOTES ON THE ANABASIS.

NOTES.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ] The title ἀνάβασις is, in reality, applicable to the first book only of the work, denoting as it does the journey up country from the sea-coast to the interior. The remaining books are occupied with the account of the κατὰβασις or descent from the interior to the coast of Pontus, with the campaigns incidental to it.

§§ 1, 2. *An examination of the causes which led to the undertaking of the expedition, commencing with the death of Darius, and the intrigues of his wife Parysatis in favour of her younger son, Cyrus.*

Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος] Darius II. is meant, whose reign extended from B. C. 424 to 404. He was the illegitimate son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and married Parysatis, his father's sister. He is known in history by the titles of *Ochus* or *Nothus*, and is probably identical with Darius the Persian (Nehemiah xii. 22).

γίγνονταί] This is commonly regarded as an instance of the historic present, by which additional reality is given to the narration of a past event. Kühner however rejects this theory, and explains the tense by the fact that the action of the verb is represented as continuing down to the present time.

παῖδες δύο] Of the thirteen children that were born to Darius and Parysatis all died early with the exception of four. Plutarch gives Ostanes and Oxathres as the names of two other sons, while of the daughters only Amestris and Atossa are known to history.

Ἀραξέρξης] Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon owing to his retentive memory. He was originally called Arsaces, but changed his name when he ascended the throne. He was born before the date of his father's accession, which furnished his mother Parysatis with her strongest argument in favour of the claims of Cyrus. Cyrus himself comes forward in the year 407 B. C., when at the age of seventeen he was made Satrap of Lydia with full authority over the sea-coast of that province and all its Grecian cities. The appointment procured for him the bitter enmity of Tissaphernes, who found himself superseded in command of the forces in Asia, and his policy of indifference exchanged for an active cooperation with the cause of Sparta. It is at this point that the Anabasis takes up the thread of the narrative.

τελευτήν τοῦ βίου]. In this and similar expressions we usually find the article omitted with the former of the two substantives, no doubt because they represent a combined idea. After ἐβούλετο the pronoun οἱ is introduced by Zeune and some of the editors. It is clear however that Aristides, from whom they adopted it, was not precise or consistent in his references to the passage.

§ 2. παύων ἐτόγγχανε] Stronger than the simple verb παρήν, 'was with him at the time.' The words σατράπην and στρατηγὸν are contrasted, the former denoting the *civil* and the latter the *military* authority. Occasionally, as in the present instance, both functions were discharged by the same individual, while at other times the military command was held by a separate officer with the title of κάσσανος or στρατηγός, which Mr Taylor illustrates by the following passage: καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάσανον τῶν εἰς Κάστωλον ἀθροισμένων (*II.ell.* I. 4. 3). The ἀρχή with which Cyrus was invested comprised Lydia, Phrygia the Greater and Cappadocia.

ἐποίησε] Students should notice this use of the aorist where the pluperfect would have implied too precise and exact a reference for the requirements of the narrative.

καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ] 'and he appointed him commander too.' This combination of καὶ and δέ is especially frequent in Xenophon. The usual explanation is to understand καὶ in the sense of 'even,' and to regard δέ as the simple conjunction; but the best grammars adopt a different theory, by which δέ is treated as an equivalent for δὴ in the sense of *adeo*, while καὶ serves to connect the clauses.

Καστωλοῦ πεδίου]. It was the custom with the Persian kings to select in each of their provinces a level space suitable for the annual review of their troops. One of these was in the neighbourhood of Castolus, a town of Lydia. In the sentence which follows observe the juxtaposition of the historic present ἀναβαίνει with the aorist ἀνέβη, the emphatic tense being discarded when it has been used to introduce the fact.

ὡς φίλον] 'in the belief that he was a friend.' I can see no reason for supposing that Cyrus was at this period distrustful of Tissaphernes, though some of the editors, who take the contrary view, prefer to render ὡς φίλον 'in the character of a friend,' which leaves the question an open one.

Παρράσιον] Parrhasia was a district and town in the south-west of Arcadia, a neighbourhood which is mentioned in VI. 2. 10 as having supplied a large proportion of the mercenary troops who accompanied the expedition.

§§ 3—5. *On the accession of Artaxerxes, Tissaphernes accuses Cyrus of treason. Through the influence of his mother the latter is allowed to return to his satrapy, where he at once proceeds to scheme for the dethronement of his brother.*

ἐπιβουλεύει] The optative is used in consideration of the historic present διαβάλλει, which is virtually equivalent to διέβαλλε, though it represents the fact in a clearer light. Cf. v. 6. 36 λέγουσιν ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς.

ὡς ἀποκτενῶν] 'with the intention of putting him to death.' The

combination of ὡς with the participle denotes the intention or pretext with which an action is done. Whether it is a *real* or only a *pretended* purpose must be decided in each case by a reference to the context. In § 2 we have noticed a similar ambiguity in connexion with the phrase ὡς φίλον.

ἀποπέμπει] The middle voice would have been less forcible than the active, as the use of the latter implies that the decision and control of the matter rested virtually with Parysatis.

§ 4. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ] 'at the mercy of his brother,' while ὑπὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, which is found in one MS, and is preferred by Schneider, would signify 'in subjection to his brother.' Krüger sufficiently defends the reading of the text by suggesting that μηκέτι rather than μήποτε would have been required with ὑπὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

In regard to the constructions of ὅπως we must carefully distinguish whether it is the *method* or the *purpose* of the action that is contemplated. The former, as in the passage before us, is expressed by the future indicative: the latter, (e. g. δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα τραύματα λάβωμεν, *Anab.* IV. 6. 10), by the subjunctive or optative as the case may require.

ὑπήρχε] 'now Cyrus, as you see, was assured of his mother's help.' Lit. 'his mother was on his side from the first.' Cf. v. 6. 23, and Dem. *OL.* III. § 12 μέγα τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις ὑπάρχει ἡ παρ' ἐκάστου βούλησις.

§ 5. ἀφικνοῖτο] The frequentative optative, as in II. 5. 32 ὥτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν.... πάντας ἔκτεινον, and Thuc. VII. 29 πάντας ἐξῆς, ὅτῳ ἐντύχοιεν, κτείνοντες. On the other hand the frequentative imperfect (ἀφικνέιτο), which is still retained in some of the editions, is out of place in the relative clause of the sentence. The phrase τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως is a pregnant form of expression, of which Xenophon in particular appears to have been especially fond. Cf. III. 6. 11 κλέπτεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, V. 2. 3 οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφευγον, and many other instances. In full, the sentence would stand thus: ὅστις τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀφικνοῖτο παρὰ βασιλέως, while the genitive rather than the dative is retained in the condensed expression to suit the force of the verb ἀφικνεῖσθαι.

φίλους εἶναι] We might reasonably have expected ἦσαν, as it is the *result* rather than the *intention* which appears to be contemplated. However, the latter idea is very strongly present in the participle διατιθείς, to which the concluding portion of the sentence is accommodated rather than to the main verb, ἀπεπέμπετο.

βαρβάρων ἐπεμελείτο, ὡς...εἶσαν] Equivalent to καὶ ἐπεμελείτο δὲ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι, the genitive being simply an anticipation of the subject of the following clause. This is a simpler explanation than the ordinary one, which regards it as a form of attraction by which the subject is accommodated to the verb of the preceding proposition.

§§ 6—8. In order to mislead Artaxerxes, it is announced by Cyrus that the Greek troops which he is collecting are intended for service against Tissaphernes. With the same object he besieges Miletus, the only one of the Ionian cities which had refused to transfer its allegiance from Tissaphernes to himself.

τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν] 'his Greek troops,' the article denoting that his employment of them was a well-known fact. ὅ τι ἀπαρασκευότατον 'as unprepared as possible.' In this and similar constructions it must be noticed that ὅ τι, or ὅτι (as it is less correctly written), is strictly speaking a pronoun.

ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς] i.e. φυλακῶν, ὁπόσας εἶχε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις. This idiom, by which the relative attracts its antecedent into the same case and clause with itself, is of common occurrence in Greek. In all such instances the antecedent follows the relative; e.g. ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας (I. 9. 19) is equivalent to χώραν, ἧς ἄρχοι. The word πόλεσι refers to the Greek cities on the coast, which were held by garrisons composed for the most part of mercenary troops.

ἐκάστοις] No one of the editors, so far as I can gather, has commented upon this irregular use of ἐκάστοις. According to the recognised rule, the plural is employed only when reference is made to a company of individuals; which would necessitate the conclusion that each of the garrisons in question was under the command of several φρούραρχοι. The supposition is an improbable one, and the fault lies apparently in the use of the plural. For this reason the construction has been condemned by the late Mr Shilleto and others as a departure from the strictly classical usage. I have reserved this and similar cases for consideration in a future appendix.

Πελοποννησίους] Because, as Kühner points out, these were the bravest soldiers. Cf. VI. 2. 10, where the Arcadians and Achaeans are singled out for special praise.

ὥς ἐπιβουλευόντος] The employment of ὥς with the participle denotes an *opinion* or *assertion* in regard to the probability of an action: 'on the ground that Tissaphernes was plotting against these cities.' καὶ γὰρ confirms the statement and gives the reason: 'for in fact the cities in Ionia were originally in the hands of Tissaphernes.' Kühner entirely rejects the theory which explains this imperfect as equivalent in force to a pluperfect. Cf. III. 4. 7 ᾤκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι, where, as in the present case, the imperfect recalls us to the course of events which were in progress at the time suggested.

ἐκ βασιλέως] It is difficult to determine whether the participle δεδομένοι refers to the original appointment of Tissaphernes, or to a period coincident with the return of Cyrus to his satrapy. The latter view is accepted by Macmichael, who considers that the re-appointment of Cyrus was attended by a curtailment of his authority: but the words τὸ ἀρχαῖον are in my opinion decisive against this theory. As regards the construction, the preposition ἐκ is often employed for ὑπό, more especially by Herodotus and the poets, when it is required to denote the source or quarter from which the present comes rather than the hand by which it is given. τότε, 'at the present time.' For a single example of this very common use, cf. IV. 1. 17 ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε.

πλὴν Μιλήτου] The most celebrated of the Ionian cities, situated on the north-west coast of Caria in the bay which receives the river *Latmus*.

§ 7. βουλευομένους] There is no occasion to supply τινάς, as the subject of the verb has been sufficiently suggested in the mention of Miletus. Compare the use of ἐλθόντας in I. 3. 14, and διαβεβηκότας in I. 4. 16, the subjects of which are in both cases implied but not expressed.

ὑπολαβών] 'having sheltered the exiles.' The distinction between φυγεῖν ('to be sent into exile') and φεύγειν ('to be living in exile') becomes a matter of considerable importance in determining the reading of a well-known passage in V. 3. 7, ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφών. In the case of ὑπολαβών and συλλέξας, Kühner explains the absence of the connecting particle by the fact that the participles are of an entirely different character both as regards sense and importance. Thus ὑπολαβών represents the primary cause, the results of which are signified by συλλέξας and ἐπολιόρκει.

κατάγειν] Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1165 for this use of κατὰ in reference to a return from exile, and compare with it the force of *de* in Latin, e. g. in *deducere* and similar verbs.

§ 8. ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ] The clause is in strict apposition with the subject of ἡξίου, i. e. he grounded his request on the fact that he was his brother. The construction has been otherwise explained as equivalent to δοθῆναι οἱ ἀδελφῷ ὄντι αὐτοῦ by a species of attraction, which distinctly weakens the force of the passage.

ᾧστε...οὐκ ἡσθάνετο] See note on ᾧσθ' ἑαυτῷ φίλους εἶναι in § 5. Here it is the simple result that is contemplated, and therefore the indicative is used.

καὶ γάρ] 'for in fact Cyrus continued to send in the regular tribute.' Either γιγνομένους or προσιόντας is usual in this connexion. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 657,

τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων συλλήβδην τὸν προσιόντα.

The word δασμὸς denotes the royal tribute, the payment of which was the chief object of Darius when he divided his kingdom into the twenty satrapies mentioned in Herod. III. 89.

§§ 9—end. *Additional forces are collected by Clearchus in the Thracian Chersonese, by Aristippus in Thessaly, and also by Proxenus, Sophænetus and Socrates.*

Κλέαρχος] The son of Ramphias. The details of his history are given at some length in II. 6 §§ 1—5, where he is described as a man of the greatest energy in the conduct of military affairs. Having persuaded the Ephors to appoint him Harmost of the Byzantines with permission to help them in their war against Thrace, he established a despotic power, and, having refused obedience to the authorities at Sparta, was sentenced to death and became an exile at the court of Cyrus.

τούτῳ συγγενόμενος] Observe the absence of the connecting particle, which is frequently omitted by Xenophon when a statement is prefaced by a demonstrative pronoun. As a general rule, it is before passages which are explanatory of a previous statement that we find the particle omitted whether in prose or verse. The word δαρείκους is strictly an adjective with which στατήρας is to be supplied. From I. 7. 18, it is clear that Xenophon estimates it as equivalent in value to twenty

Attic drachmae (about 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ shillings), though the specimens in the British Museum are said to contain about $\frac{1}{16}$ th more of pure gold than the English sovereign. The name of the coin, if not derived immediately from the inventor (Darius), is clearly connected with the word *dará*, the patronymic of the Persian kings.

ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων] 'on the strength of this supply.' It will be remembered that the allusions throughout this passage are to the *Thracian* Chersonese: as the *Tauric* Chersonese, now known as the Crimea, does not enter into the history of this book.

ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας] more especially the inhabitants of Byzantium and Perinthus (II. 6. 1), the latter of which, called afterwards *Heraclea*, was a Thracian town on the coast of the Propontis.

αὐτῷ] i.e. Κύρῳ. The verb *τρέφειν* is frequently used, as in this case, to express the formation or levying of a force, no less than its maintenance: 'by this means a second army was being secretly collected for his service.'

§ 10. Ἀρίστιππος] He was an inhabitant of Larissa, and belonged to the well-known family of the Aleuadae. From the introduction to the *Meno* of Plato (§ 325) it appears that he was a pupil of Gorgias.

ξένος ὢν] In the present instance the word is used in its ordinary sense to denote a 'guest-friend,' one who is on terms of hospitality with another, whether in consequence of some religious obligation or from hereditary claims. It is strange however to find it repeated in the same sentence with another and different meaning, as in the phrase *εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους* the sense can only be that of a 'refugee' or 'mercenary.'

εἰς δισχιλίους] 'to the number of two thousand.' In Latin we find a similar use of the preposition *ad*, e.g. in Cic. *ad Quint.* II. 2, *frequentes fuimus ad ducentos*.

ὥς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν] The force is that of a *contingent* future, while an event that will *certainly* take place would require the future participle. The construction is fully explained in Jelf, § 429. 3, the ἂν merely implying the hypothesis *εἰ τοῦτο γίγνοιτο* or some equivalent. See note on *ὥς ἄλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου* (V. 2. 8).

καταλύσαι] 'not to come to terms.' The construction is usually explained by understanding τὸν πόλεμον, a suggestion which is to a certain extent confirmed by the following passage in V. 7. 27, οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτε ἀνελεῖσθαι πόλεμον, ᾧ ἂν βούλησθε, οὔτε καταλύσαι. If so, the accusative to be supplied in each case must vary with the sense of the context, and I therefore much prefer the alternative theory, which explains it as an intransitive or reflexive use of the verb in the sense of *καταλύεσθαι*.

συμβουλευσῆται] For the constructions of *πρίν*, see note on *εἰ πλείους συνελέγησαν* (IV. 1. 11). Macmichael in his comments on the passage suggests that the optative rather than the subjunctive mood would have been in keeping with the oblique narration. But instances of this transition are of common occurrence (e.g. in I. 3. 14), while in the present case the use of the historic presents *δίδωσιν* and *δεῖται* is an additional reason for the employment of the subjunctive.

§ 11. ὥς ἐς Πισίδας βουλόμενος] The Pisidians were a warlike

tribe of mountaineers, whose raids upon the plains beneath them are noticed in III. 2. 23. The district which they inhabited was bounded by Pamphylia, Caria, Phrygia, and Lycaonia. In the sentence before us the distinction between *ὡς* with the ordinary participle and *ὡς* with the genitive absolute is very clearly marked: the former denoting the *purpose* or *pretext* of the person who is the subject of the clause, the latter his *opinions* or *impressions* on some independent point.

τὸν Στυμφάλιον] Stymphalus was a town of Arcadia, situated in the neighbourhood of Tegea. In II. 6 (16—20) our author describes the character of Proxenus, the Boeotian, of whose integrity and rectitude he speaks in the very highest terms, at the same time commenting on his want of authority in the camp. 'Truest friend and noblest foe' is the character given of Sophænetus in II. 6. 30. He is probably identical with the person of that name who wrote an account of this same expedition.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—3. *Under pretence of making an attack on the Pisidians, Cyrus assembles his forces at Sardis. Their character and numbers.*

ἀνω] See note on I. 1. 1.

τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν] The particle *μὲν* is often employed without a corresponding *δὲ* in cases where it is required to emphasise a proposition. A latent antithesis is often suggested by the context, which in the present instance may be supplied as follows: τὸ ἀληθὲς δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἦν ὁ στόλος. By degrees however this usage, more especially in poetry, became independent of any antithesis whether expressed or implied, and we find the particle employed solely for the sake of emphasis.

ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους] See note on *ὡς ἐς Πισιδας* (I. 1. 11).

ἐνταῦθα] 'the Greek troops which were already in that quarter.' For *ἐνταῦθα* in this sense, compare the frequent use of *αὐτόθε* in Thucydides (e.g. in VI. 21). When we consider the position occupied by *ἐνταῦθα* in the sentence, it is surprising that so many of the editors should connect it with *ἀθροίζει* in the sense of *ἐνταυθοῖ*. Thus Zeune, who is followed by Macmichael, would render it 'towards that point,' i.e. Pisidia. Mr Taylor, adopting Krüger's explanation, translates 'at Sardis.' The article, which Dindorf has introduced before *ἐνταῦθα*, is rejected by Kühner as needless.

λαβόντι] By attraction for *λαβόντα*, though a few lines below our author adopts the more usual accusative: *Ξενία... ἤκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα*. It will be noticed that in each case where the dative is used the participle follows closely on the substantive to which it is attracted. Where these are separated by any interval, the construction would naturally pass into the accusative and infinitive.

συναλλαγέντι] Cf. I. 1. 10. By a comparison with § 5 we find that Aristippus did not appear in person, but that Meno was sent in his place.

ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν] Kühner follows the five leading MSS in reading

ἦσαν, in place of which εἶσαν appears in the majority. The text represents the author as speaking in his own person: the optative would imply that he was using the language of Cyrus.

§ 2. τοὺς Μιλήτων πολιορκούντας] Cf. I. I. 7. The reading παύσασθαι would in Madvig's opinion necessitate the introduction of ἄν, as the aorist in this connexion usually denotes a *past* rather than a *future* event. As an alternative, he suggests that παύσεσθαι is perhaps the true reading. Kühner on the other hand defends the text on the ground that verbs of *hoping* and *expecting* are constructed indifferently with the present, future or aorist of the infinitive, while he instances two passages in which the verb we are considering is followed by the aorist infinitive with the unanimous agreement of the MSS. Cf. II. 3. 20, ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλεύεσθαι, and Oec. VII. 8, ὑπισχνουμένη...γενέσθαι. οἷαν δέ.

κατάγοι] So Kühner with the three chief MSS in place of the ordinary reading καταγάγοι. In the phrase παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεϊς, which is a condensed expression for ἐλθόντες εἰς Σάρδεϊς παρήσαν, we have an idiom analogous to that which occurs in the following line, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. The latter has already been noticed in connexion with τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως (I. I. 5).

Σάρδεϊς] The ancient capital of Lydia. On the site stands the modern town of *Sart*.

§ 3. γυμνήτας] As a general rule, the word is used as an equivalent for ψιλοὶ to denote the various classes of light-armed troops. In particular cases however, (e.g. V. 2. 12), it is used in contradistinction with τοξότας and ἀκοντίστας, both of which terms it would commonly include.

εἰς τριακ. μὲν ὅπλ., τριακ. δὲ πελτ. ἔχων] Kühner and Dindorf have both adopted this reading, which is supported by the authority of all the best MSS. The majority of the editors read εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ἄνδρας after the inferior MSS, which Kühner regards as an evident attempt to make the number of the troops coincide with the totals given in § 9 of the present chapter. A calculation of the contingents supplied by the individual generals gives 10,600 as the total number of the heavy-armed troops, while the light-armed forces amount in all to 2300. On the other hand in § 9 the hoplites are described as numbering 11,000 men (μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι), and the peltasts 2000, so that by the proposed alteration in the text the totals in each case would be made exactly to coincide. But the very fact of this precision is in itself suspicious, more especially as Xenophon throughout the *Anabasis* always uses round numbers in speaking of his troops; in addition to which, Kühner notices the employment of the word ἄνδρας in place of the more usual ὅπλιτας as a further argument against the proposed emendation.

τῶν ἀμφὶ Μιλήτων] A partitive genitive: 'among the number of those who were engaged in the investment of Miletus.' In the following sentence αὐτῷ is an ethic dative, which is used to denote that the person or persons in question have a certain interest and participation in the matter in hand: 'these troops came *at his bidding* to Sardis.'

§ 4. The preparations which Cyrus is making are reported to the King by Tissaphernes.

κατανοήσας] The preposition (as in *κατίδοιεν*, IV. 3. 11) denotes an *accidental* or *casual* impression. Occasionally it implies that the discovery is made to the *injury* or *detriment* of another party, e.g. Thuc. II. 3, *κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὄντας*, i.e. 'discovered to their cost that they were few in number.' Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos have stated on the authority of Ephorus that the first intimation of these schemes was given by Alcibiades to Pharnabazus.

§§ 5—9. *The counter-preparations of the King. Cyrus begins his march through Lydia and Phrygia, arriving at Celaenae, where he holds a review of his troops. The situation and history of the place.*

σταθμούς... παρασάγγας] The word *σταθμός* or 'stage' was originally applied to the stations or halting-places where the Persian king rested in his travels, and soon came by metonymy to denote the march which had preceded the halt rather than the actual halting-place. For the length of the parasang, cf. Herod. II. 6, *δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια*, which is regarded by the best authorities as equivalent to 5469 yards or $2\frac{1}{10}$ geographical miles. It must however be carefully remembered that the parasang is no fixed unit of measurement, but one which varies in proportion with the character of the ground. Accordingly, as Mr Taylor notices, the mean value of the parasang is about $2\cdot364$ geographical miles, if we take into consideration the entire length of the march from Sardis to Cunaxa: while on the best portions of the road, aided by the favourable season of the year (April or May), it amounts to as much as $2\cdot608$ miles, and on the worst it falls to $1\cdot98$ or considerably less. It is in fact a measurement of *time* rather than of *distance*, a fact which is receiving curious illustration at the present day in our war news from the East. Take, for example, the following telegram from the *Times* for July 20, 1877:—*Erzerroom*, Sunday. 'The Russians have retired to a distance of six hours beyond *Kars*. Muktar Pacha is entrenching himself at *Veren Kalé*, two hours west of the city.'

τὸν Μαίανδρον] Leaving Sardis about the 6th of March in the year 401 B.C. according to the usual calculation, Cyrus followed the course of the river Cogamus (now *Kagam*) till he reached the Meander, which in the opinion of the best authorities he crossed at a short distance above its junction with the Lycus. Rising near *Celaenae*, the Meander forms the boundary between Lydia and Caria. It is now known as the *Minder*.

ὄβο πλῆθρα] i.e. 202 English feet. Observe the force of the preposition in the compound *ἐπέξευγμένη*, which in all probability directly governs the dative *πλοίοις*, 'a bridge constructed *upon* seven boats.' The explanation which treats *πλοίοις* as a dative of the instrument takes no account of the preposition, and is suggestive rather of *ἐξευγμένη*, a reading which appears in the inferior MSS.

§ 6. *eis Κολοσσάς*] This city is noticed in Herod. VII. 30 as one of considerable importance. It was situated in Phrygia on the banks of the *Lycus*. It is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of Nero's reign, but was afterwards rebuilt. In the middle ages its place was taken by *Chonae* (now *Khonos*), north of which, at a distance of three miles, has been discovered the true site of *Colossae*.

Μένων] Cf. I. I. 10, and also II. 6. 28 for the circumstances under

which he received the command from Aristippus. The *Dolopes* inhabited a district in the south of Epirus. The *Aenianes* came from the neighbourhood of *Mount Oeta* and the river *Sperchius* in Southern Thessaly.

§ 7. εἰς Κελαινὰς] Herodotus, who describes *Celaenae* in connexion with the march of Xerxes to Sardis (VII. 26), mentions a second stream which rises in the Agora of *Celaenae* called the *Catarrhactes*. This is no doubt identical with the *Marsyas*. The sources of the *Meander* are described in similar terms by Livy, XXXVIII. 13, and it is now accepted as a certainty that the *Marsyas* and *Meander*, though rising in the same neighbourhood, were entirely separate streams. *Apamea*, which was built out of the ruins of *Celaenae*, occupied the site of the modern *Dinair*.

παράδειςος] 'a park.' The phrase ἀπὸ ἵππου, 'on horseback,' is a condensed form of expression like those I have already cited in a note on § 2. Compare a similar use of the preposition in Latin, e.g. *ex equo pugnae*, *ex cathedra loqui* and similar phrases. The optative βούλοιοτο is frequentative, a force closely connected with that of the indefinite optative, inasmuch as it does not limit the reference to any particular occasion.

§ 8. περὶ σοφίας] 'in musical skill.' Cf. Eustath. *ad Il. ó.* p. 1023, οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ σοφοὺς ἐκάλουν ἅπαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας. The circumstances and context must in each case determine the particular reference. Thus in Pindar *σοφία* generally denotes the art of the poet, but is also used of the athlete, the surgeon and the musician. The story of *Marsyas* is told at length in Herod. VII. 26 and Liv. XXXVIII. 13, and is usually explained as typifying the triumph of the Dorian music over the Phrygian.

ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ] Hamilton in all probability saw the very cave in question, though the surrounding cliff had fallen in and blocked the source of the stream.

§ 9. τῇ μάχῃ] The battle of Salamis in 480 B. C.

καὶ Σῶσις] καὶ Σωσίας *al.*, but Kühner, Dindorf and the best editors have adopted the reading of the text on the conjecture of Burmann, who mentions the name Σῶσις as of frequent occurrence in Sicilian inscriptions.

Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκάς] He has however been mentioned already in § 3. Krüger thinks that the name Κλεάνωρ should be substituted, but Macmichael with greater probability suggests in place of it Ἀγίας ὁ Ἀρκάς, tracing the corruption into Ἀρκάς ὁ Ἀρκάς, a reading which an overbusy copyist would soon improve upon by the introduction of some Arcadian name.

μόριοι καὶ χίλιοι] Consult note on § 3.

§§ 10—12. Cyrus continues his march by way of *Peltæ* to *Ceræmorium* Agora and thence to *Caystri* Campus. At the last-named place he is met by *Epyaxa*, the Cilician queen, who supplies him with the money required for the payment of his troops.

εἰς Πέλτας] i. e. the *Peltemus Campus*, with which compare Καῖστρου πεδίου and the German *Rheinfeld*. Although he was making for the East, it is clear that he did not take a direct course, as the plain in question lies considerably to the north-west of *Celaenae*. Colonel

Chesney (II. 206) suggests that his object in making this retrograde movement was to avoid a difficult portion of the *Taurus*.

τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε] In all probability the allusion is to the worship of Lycaean Zeus, referred to by Pausanias (VIII. 2. 1), and resembling in the details of its celebration the Roman *Lupercalia*. Festivals of the same name were held throughout Arcadia in honour of the god Pan. The epithet *λύκειος*, denoting one of the attributes of Apollo and connected in all probability with *λύκη* (*lux*), must be carefully distinguished from the above.

στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ] 'golden flesh-scrapers,' like the Roman *strigiles*, are probably meant. Schneider however and Boeckh think that a particular species of head-band is referred to, used chiefly by women and by the envoys or representatives of a State.

Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν] Afterwards called *Trajanopolis*. Allowing for variation in the value of the parasang, we may identify the site with that of the modern *Ushak*. Hamilton describes it as a place of considerable importance at the present day, many of the high roads of Asia Minor passing through it. To a person travelling from *Apamea* (*Celaenae*) into Mysia it would be the last town on the road, a mountainous and uninhabited district separating it from Mysia.

§ 11. τριάκοντα] These forced marches are noticed as a difficulty by Rennell and by Mr Taylor, for we must remember that Cyrus was travelling in his own satrapy. It is possible that a period of three days, which is required to make the items of the journey consistent with the total, may be supplied at this point, or, on the other hand, the very facility of the roads may have tempted him to hasten his progress where it was possible.

εἰς Καῖστρου πεδίου] Hamilton and Ainsworth are agreed in fixing the *Caystri Campus* in the basin of the river now called the *Eber Ghienl*: but Hamilton places the exact site at or near the village of *Chai Kienü*, and Ainsworth further west in a high and arid upland called *Sarmeneh*. It is to a certain extent in favour of *Sarmeneh* that a large amount of antiquarian treasures have been discovered there and none apparently at *Chai Kienü*, while on the other hand an upland like *Sarmeneh* would appear to have been insufficiently watered for the purposes of a large army.

πλέον ἤ] An adverbial accusative, like the Latin *plusquam*. Cf. II. 6. 9, μυριάδας πλέον ἢ δώδεκα, and VI. 4. 24, ἀνδρῶν οὐ μείον πεντακοσίων. ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας] i.e. *ad praetorium Cyri*. Mr Taylor aptly compares the 'Sublime Porte.'

διηγέ] 'put them off with promises.' So Schneider, who supplies αὐτοῖς instead of χρόνον, which is the alternative explanation.

πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου] 'it was not characteristic of Cyrus.' The theory which represents the name Syennesis as the regular patronymic of the Cilician kings is rejected by Kühner.

§ 12. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ] This reading, which is found in all the chief MSS, is distinctly preferable to τῇ οὖν στρατιᾷ which is given in the majority, and even to τῇ γοῦν στρατιᾷ which is adopted by Poppo on the suggestion of Schneider. The particles have their usual resumptive force: 'anyhow,' 'be that as it may.'

Ἀσπενδίου] *Aspendus* was situated on the rocky banks of the *Eurymedon* in Pamphylia.

§§ 13—18. *Continuing his march Cyrus passes through Thymbrium to Tyriaeum, where, at the request of Epyaxa, he holds a review of his troops. The display causes a panic amongst the barbarians.*

εἰς Θύμβριον] Ainsworth places the site at the modern *Ishekli*; Col. Chesney, with whom Hamilton is virtually agreed, in the immediate neighbourhood of the present town of *Ak Shehr*. The objection to the latter theory is that it necessitates a reduction in the estimate of the parasang along a portion of the march where the road can have presented few difficulties.

παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν] This irregular use of the accusative without the accompanying idea of *motion* or *extension* is objected to by Schneider and others, who would read *περὶ* for *παρὰ* in all cases where the context admits of the change. To justify it, we must either translate ‘flowing along the road side,’ or regard it as employed in reference to the marching-past of the troops. We have however a still more irregular instance in V. 3. 13, *στήλη ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναόν*, where no explanation of the kind seems available, and we can only notice the usage as a peculiarity in the author’s style. The story of *Silenus* is told in *Ov. Metam.* XI. 90 ff. According to Ainsworth, the spring in question is now called *Ulu Bunar*.

§ 14. εἰς Τυραῖον] Probably identical with *Ilghun*, as *Arkut Khan*, at which Ainsworth is inclined to place it, presents by his own account a surface of irregular limestone, little suitable for the purposes of a review. Again, Strabo’s narrative is in favour of this theory, as he places *Tyriaeum* between *Philomelium* and *Laodicea*, near the borders of *Lycaonia*. Mr Taylor in a general review of this doubtful portion of the route sums up our present knowledge in the fact that ‘the road itself must have passed between the two ranges of mountains, the *Emir Dagh* on the north-east, and the *Sultan Dagh* on the south-west.’

§ 15. εἰς μάχην] *sub. ταχθῆναι*, which is the general idea suggested in the clause which follows. ἐπὶ τεττάρων is ‘four deep.’ Cf. IV. 8. 11 εἰς ἑπ’ ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ὡμεν.

οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου] Dindorf would omit the preposition, though it appears in all the five leading MSS with the exception of one. The phrase is no mere equivalent for *οἱ ἐκείνου*, but denotes *connexion with* or *dependence on* a person or thing. Whether the dependence is a *local* or a *moral* one is not clear. Kühner apparently suggests the latter in his comment ‘qui ejus imperio subjecti erant,’ but, comparing other similar phrases and the Latin *stare a parte*, I am inclined to think that the primary idea is that of *locality*: i.e. ‘the division that takes its departure from him.’

§ 16. κατ’ ἑλᾶς καὶ κατὰ τάξεις] ‘by troops and companies,’ the former referring to the cavalry force, the latter to the infantry. An ἑλᾶ was composed of 64 men, while the full complement of a τάξις was apparently 128, though in *Cyrop.* II. 1. 25 it does not amount to more than 100. The word ἀρμάμαξα denotes a four-wheeled carriage, used exclusively by women and children. Its equivalent in Latin is *carpentum*.

χιτώνας φοινίκιους] This form of the adjective is retained by Kühner after the four chief MSS in place of φοινικοῦς. According to Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xi. 3, the 'scarlet tunic' was adopted from the uniform of the Spartan army.

ἐκκεκαλυμμένας] This reading is preferred by Kühner, Poppo and the best editors to ἐκκεκαθαρμένας. It also appears in all the best MSS. The reference is no doubt to the 'cases' or 'covers' known as σάγματα, ἔλυτρα and θῆκαι, while Caesar (*B. G.* ii. 21) speaks of them as *scutum tegimenta*. Cf. Aristoph. *Achar.* 574 τίς Γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος; Weiske suggests τὰς κνημῖδας ἐκκεκαθαρμένας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας, but the word κνημῖδας is sufficient without the participle and denotes in itself that the troops were completely equipped.

§ 17. στήσας...πέμψας] See note on ὑπολαβών in I. 1. 7.

προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα] 'to present arms,' a somewhat uncommon use of the phrase, which is generally employed in reference to the shield alone, e.g. in IV. 2. 21, where the participle προβεβλημένος is used absolutely, 'covering them both with his shield.'

ἐσάλπιγξε] *sub.* σαλπικτής, as with ἐσήμηνε in III. 4. 4. The omission is common in the case of certain officials (e.g. κῆρυξ, γραμματεὺς, etc.), whose duties were so well recognised as to be suggested in each case by the mere use of the verb.

προϊόντων] 'as they advanced faster and faster.' The pronoun is often omitted, where the context leaves no doubt as to the subject of the participle. The recurrence of the phrase ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς in the following section shews that in both cases the reference is to the camp of the Greeks.

§ 18. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων κ.τ.λ.] The regular construction would have been as follows: φόβος δὲ πολὺς ἦν καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῇ Κιλίᾳ, the change being made to give greater prominence and emphasis to the latter clauses of the sentence.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης] ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης, Zeune, who is followed by Kühner and others. But the conjecture, so far as I can gather, is unsupported by any manuscript authority, while the reading of the text, though somewhat less vigorous in sense, is open to no possible objection.

τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος] We might have expected the addition of the article, i. e. τὴν τάξιν τὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος. But in this and similar phrases the two substantives represent one combined idea, and are in fact equivalent to a compound word. Cf. ἀκμῇ τοῦ βίου, 'life's prime' (VII. 2. 20), ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου, 'life's end' (*Cyrop.* v. 1. 13), ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὄρων 'a mountain-pass' (I. 2. 25).

τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλ. εἰς τοὺς βαρ.] 'the panic infused by the Greeks into the barbarians.' The phrase presents no difficulties, but is cumbrous and inelegant in form, and exhibits moreover a somewhat irregular use of the preposition εἰς.

§§ 19—23. Cyrus continues his march to Iconium, and thence through Lycaonia and Cappadocia to Dana with the object of crossing the Taurus range into Cilicia. As a preliminary, he sends Epyaxa home, escorted by Meno and a body of troops, who, under the name of a guard of honour, succeed in checking Syennesis by turning the pass of the Cilician Gates.

ἐς Ἰκόνιον] The last city in Phrygia, the site of the modern *İkonieh*. At a later period it was incorporated with Lycaonia (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 25) of which it became the capital.

§ 20. ἀποπέμπει] The place of parting was either *Kara Bunar* (the 'Black Spring'), or, supposing Cyrus to have taken a southerly route, at a point called *Tchurla*, in the neighbourhood of which are the ruins of *Lystra* and *Derbe*. The queen herself crossed by one of the western spurs of the Taurus to *Soli* or *Pompeiopolis*, and thence to *Tarsus*. It is probable, as Colonel Chesney suggests, that the real object of Epyaxa in her mission to Cyrus was to divert him from entering her husband's territory who feared the enmity of Artaxerxes.

πρὸς Δάναν] The same as *Tyana*, of which indeed the text may be a corruption. A peculiar lake of troubled water has enabled Hamilton to identify the site with that of the modern *Kız Hissar*. The city was of special importance as commanding the approach to the Cilician Gates. According to Strabo, it was also known as *Eusebia ad Taurum*.

φοινικιστὴν βασιλεῖον] 'a wearer of the royal purple.' The *κάνδης*, which is the subject of the allusion, was worn only by the highest officials and was received from the king's own hand. Those of the next order were styled *παραλουργεῖς*, as only facings of purple were allowed on their robes.

τῶν ὑπάρχων] The deputies of a satrap, for which Kühner compares I. 8. 5, where the name in question is given to Ariæus as the representative of Cyrus.

§ 21. ἡ δὲ εἰσβολή] The pass of the Cilician Gates, mentioned by Curt. III. 4 as *Ciliciæ portæ*, and by Cic. *ad Att.* v. 20. 1 as *Tauri fylæ*, is now called *Kulak Bughaz*. It is said by Col. Chesney to be one of the longest and most difficult passes in the world, to whose interesting work (I. 320 ff.) I must refer the student for a full description of the scenery. 'The actual pass,' to quote the words of Mr Ainsworth, 'is just broad enough, as Xenophon describes it, for a chariot to pass, if disencumbered of fallen rocks... High, precipitous cliffs tower up on both sides; on the summit of one of which are the remains of a castle with round towers, and a tablet, which once bore an inscription, is still to be seen on the face of a large mass of detached rock that lies in the rivulet.'

ἔμεινεν] The allusion to Syennesis being only parenthetical, the narrative now returns to Cyrus who is the main subject of the sentence.

τὸ Μένωνος σπράτευμα] In the majority of the editions these words are made to precede ὅτι as an anticipatory accusative, for which compare in Latin Ter. *Eun.* v. 9. 5 *Scin' me, in quibus sim gaudiis*, and in Greek Soph. *Trach.* 736 ὦ μήτερ, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τριῶν σ' ἐν εἰλόμην, Ἥ μηκέτ' εἶναι ζῶσαν ἢ σεσωσμένην Ἄλλου κεκλησθαι μητέρ', ἢ κ.τ.λ. But, as Kühner points out, this alteration in the natural order of the sentence has been made in the present case against the authority of all the leading MSS.

ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε] If the text of this involved passage be accepted as genuine, and it is quoted as such by Dem. Phal. in his treatise *περὶ*

'Ερμηνείας § 198 p. 80, it can only be explained as a remarkable instance of trajection. The regular order of the words would have been as follows: ὅτι ἤκουε Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τριήρεις τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν. The alternative explanation, according to which the words Ταμῶν ἔχοντα are parenthetical, depending in common with τριήρεις on the verb ἤκουε, presents still greater difficulties. Weiske and Schneider, notwithstanding the evidence of the MSS, regard the concluding portion of the sentence, commencing with the word Ταμῶν, as a mere interpolation. The construction is rendered additionally awkward by the presence of the word ὅτι in both clauses but with a different sense: 'when he found that Meno's troops were already in Cilicia, and *because* he was informed' etc.

Ταμῶν] A native of Memphis in Egypt, who had held a command under Tissaphernes in Ionia (cf. Thuc. VIII. 31. 87). He was afterwards put to death by Psammitichus. The presence of the Spartan fleet on this occasion under the command of Samius is explained in *Hell.* III. 1. 2.

§ 22. δ' οὖν] See note on I. 2. 12. For the epithet ἐπίρροντορ, cf. Curt. III. 4. 6, *planitiem eius crebris distinguuntibus rivis*. The rivers in question are the *Psarus*, *Cydnius* and *Pyramus*. This district, which is now called the Plain of *Adana*, still presents according to Ainsworth the same characteristics, 'growing sesame, panic, millet, wheat and barley as in the olden time.'

ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν] Cf. Curt. III. 4. 6. The plain is in fact enclosed by *Taurus* to the west and north, *Amanus* to the east, and *Rhosus* to the south.

§§ 23—25. *The Greeks arrive at Tarsus, and plunder the city in retaliation for the losses sustained by Meno in the pass.*

ἦσαν τὰ...βασίλεια] The construction is a favourite one with Xenophon, and is employed when reference is made to a total which is composed of several distinct parts. Thus in I. 4. 10 it is used again of a palace, in I. 5. 1 of a collection of various kinds of plants, and in I. 7. 17 of a multitude of different footprints. In certain other passages (e.g. IV. 1. 13, IV. 2. 25, and Thuc. IV. 88) the plural would seem to be used out of regard to the *meaning* rather than the *gender* of the substantive.

εὖρος] The accusative of nearer definition, like ὄνομα which precedes it. In the sentence which follows, ἐξέλιπον...εἰς χωρίον is a condensed expression for ἐκλιπόντες ἐφυγον εἰς χωρίον. Observe that the idea of motion is still continued in the words ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη; else the genitive or dative would have been the case employed. The fastness to which the inhabitants fled has been identified, but not with any certainty, as the *Castle of Nimrud* on the adjacent hills.

§ 24. οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν] The accusative of extension, for which see note on IV. 3. 1. *Soli*, the modern *Mezzelli*, was a Greek colony, the inhabitants of which would consequently be safe. It was situated near the mouth of the river *Lamus*. The city of *Issi* or *Issus* is described in I. 4. 1. It was situate on the sea-coast at the other extremity of Cilicia.

§ 25. πέντε ἡμέραις] The dative is the usual case in this con-

nexion, though on two occasions (*Anab.* I. 7. 12 and *Thuc.* I. 105) we find the accusative. For τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίου, 'that reach downward to the plain,' Reiske suggests τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον, a needless alteration, as the mention of the mountains implies by consequence the pass.

ἐκατὸν ὀπλῖται] i. e., in all probability, one half the complement of the two λόχοι, a loss amply sufficient to justify the use of the phrase λόχοι ἀπώλοντο. In the former portion of the sentence we have an example of καὶ οὐ followed by οὐδέ. According to Kühner, the former is used after a *positive* statement, the latter after a *negative*; e. g. in I. 4. 7 καὶ οὐ is the formula employed: ἀπώοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα.

§§ 26—end. *Cyrus has an interview with Syennesis which results in the exchange of friendly gifts and promises.*

τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς] Ταρσοὺς, τὴν πόλιν would be the natural order of the words, but the change is made because a digression has intervened since the last mention of the city: 'they plundered the town, Tarsus I mean.'

εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν] 'to have an interview with,' a most unusual sense of the words, which are generally employed, as in IV. 7. 15, to denote a hand to hand fight, with which compare the corresponding phrase ἐκ χειρὸς (*Soph. Ai.* 27, and *Anab.* V. 4. 25).

πίστεις ἔλαβε] We must supply Σύνεσεις, who, notwithstanding the introduction of γυνή, is the main nominative of the sentence.

§ 27. μηκέτι ἀφαρπάξεσθαι] The infinitive depends on ἔδωκε, and takes the place of an additional substantive. It is of course a strict passive, even supposing the order of the words to be as follows: 'that the king should not be plundered in the matter of his territory.' Comparing *Cyrop.* VIII. 2. 8, Macmichael observes in connexion with these presents that Cyrus had already begun to exercise the prerogatives of a king.

ἐντυγχάνωσιν] μὴ. οἱ Κίλικες.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1, 2. *The troops suspect the object of their mission, and in consequence refuse to advance. Clearchus, in the endeavour to compel them, is roughly handled.*

τοῦ πρόσω] 'refused to go a step further.' The genitive is a partitive one, 'any portion of the road that lay beyond.'

ἐβιάζετο] Observe the tense: 'was for using compulsion.' Mr Taylor notices the fact as characteristic of the disposition of Clearchus.

§ 2. τὸ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι] One of the best MSS gives τοῦ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, which is rejected by Kühner and Krüger on the ground that the best classical authorities do not combine ἐκφυγεῖν with the genitive. We may further suggest that, if the construction were possible, the presence of the negative would in that case be incapable of defence. Beginners should notice the introduction of the negative in this and similar phrases, which is either (1) *redundant*, and added

merely for the sake of additional emphasis, or (2) and more probably, *exegetical*, 'escaped, so that he did not die.'

ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται] ὅτι οὐ δυνήσοιτο would be the regular construction, but the sentence passes into the direct narration, with the object probably of adding reality to the conception.

ἐκκλησίαν] The reference of all important questions to an assembly of the soldiers, by whom they were discussed and voted upon with all the formalities of the national ἐκκλησία, is one of the most remarkable features in the history of the Expedition, denoting as it does the strong devotion of this citizen-army to their civil and political traditions. At the same time it was clearly an important instrument in the hands of the officers for the maintenance of their authority, who (to judge from the character of the speeches and the arguments employed) entertained no very high opinion of the intelligence of their audience.

§§ 3—6. *The speech of Clearchus.*

τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι] This use of the dative after χαλεπῶς φέρειν, with which the accusative is the ordinary construction, is apparently confined to Xenophon. In *Hell.* III. 4. 9 we have another example, βαρέως φέρειν τῇ ἀθυμίᾳ. It may be traced in all probability to the omission of the preposition, as χαλεπῶς φέρειν ἐπὶ τινι is a construction recognised by Demosthenes and the best authorities.

καθηδυνάθησα] 'nay I did not even indulge myself in idle luxury.' Καθηδυναθεῖν, like so many verbs which are found in the *Anabasis* (e.g. καταβλακεῖν, καταδειλιάν), would seem to have been suggested by the poetic compounds which are a marked feature in the language of Plato. It is intransitive in form, and apparently also in sense, for I can see no grounds for the supposition that its force is altered by the addition of κατά. On the contrary, the preposition occurs repeatedly in similar compounds when the reference is to an *evil* or *injurious* action. Observe the *continued process* which is suggested by the change from καθηδυνάθησα to the imperfect ἐδαπάνων, and the equally strong contrast between ἐπολέμησα and ἐτιμωρούμην at the commencement of the following section.

§ 4. ἐτιμωρούμην] Kühner calls attention to the omission of the object. In the present case however it is rather transposed than omitted, as the natural order of the sentence would have been as follows: ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σερρόνησου ἐξελαύνων.

§ 5. ἀνάγκη δὲ] Only one of the five leading MSS has preserved the true reading, the others give ἀνάγκη δέ, which is clearly indefensible, as the apodosis in that case could only commence with the words εἰ μὲν δὲ κ.τ.λ. where it would be altogether out of place.

§ 6. καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους] An evident reminiscence of Homer. Cf. *Il.* VI. 429,

Ἔκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἔσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
'Ἡδὲ κασίγνητος,

which Bornemann further illustrates from Eur. *Hec.* 284,

ἧδ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶ μοι παραψυχή,
πόλις, τιθήνη, βάκτρον, ἡγεμῶν ὁδοῦ.

ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι] The conditions which are implied by the presence of

ἀν are suggested in the first clause by σὺν ὑμῶν ('provided I am supported by you'), and in the second by ἔρημος ὧν ('if I am deserted by you'). As regards the repetition of ἀν in the same sentence, it may be noticed that it will generally be placed early to stamp the character of the sentence which is to follow, and it will appear again in all probability with the emphatic word (e. g. with the negatives in the present instance), and again perhaps with the main verb towards the close of the sentence. For a similar collocation cf. *Oed. Tyr.* 1227,

οἶμαι γὰρ οὐτ' ἀν Ἴστρον οὔτε Φᾶσιν ἀν
νίψαι καθαρμῶ τήνδε τὴν στέγην.

ἀλεξήσασθαι] ἀλέξασθαι, the majority of the editors including Voilbrecht. Mr Taylor prints ἀλέξασθαι in his text, which, to judge from the note on the passage, is a printer's error for ἀλεξήσασθαι. The latter reading is accepted by Kühner and Bornemann on the authority of all the chief MSS as a Homeric form of the aorist. In other passages of the *Anabasis* we have the corresponding forms of the present, e. g. ἀλεξόμεθα (VII. 7. 3), ἀλέξησθε (VII. 3. 44) and ἀλεξόμενος (I. 9. 11).

ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος] 'in full persuasion that I shall follow you.' Consult note on ὡς ἐς Πισιδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι in I. I. 11.

§§ 7, 8. *The soldiers express their approval in ignorance of the fact that Clearchus is acting in the interests of Cyrus.*

παρὰ βασιλέα] 'to the king.' The vague and indefinite preposition is purposely employed in place of ἐπὶ which would have implied direct hostility.

§ 8. καταστησομένων] 'in the assurance that things would right themselves.'

§§ 9—12. *The second address of Clearchus.*

τὰ μὲν δὴ Κίρου κ.τ.λ.] The rhetorical prelude with which the speech opens is a clever device for suggesting incidentally a fact which the speaker shrinks from stating in clearer terms: οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι ἡμῶν μισθοδότης.

§ 10. τὸ μὲν μέγιστον] 'chiefly from a sense of shame.' The phrase τὸ μέγιστον, which is equivalent in these cases to ὁ μέγιστός ἐστι, is in apposition with the sentence which follows.

§ 11. ἐκ τούτων] 'under the circumstances.' In the following sentence the subjunctive μένωμεν, which is supported by the authority of all the MSS, has been arbitrarily displaced by Buttmann in favour of μενούμεν with the object of making the construction of the clauses uniform. In a former note (I. I. 4) I have pointed out the distinction between the indicative and the subjunctive when used in this connexion, nor is there the slightest objection to their combination in the present instance. Compare a similar passage in II. 2. 10, ἐπιμελομένην... ὅπως ὑγιαίνεις τε καὶ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μηδενὸς ἐνδεής ἔσῃ, and another in II. 4. 2, where however there is some slight doubt as to the genuine reading: τοὺς πολλοὺς οὔτε ὅπως κτήσονται φροντίζοντας, οὔτε ὅπως οἱ δυντες ἑαυτοῖς σώζονται.

§ 12. ἐχθρὸς...πολέμιος] An excellent example of the distinction which marks the use of these two adjectives, and which Krüger further illustrates by the following passage of Curtius (VII. 10. 8): illi nun-

quam se inimicos ei, sed bello lacessitos hostes fuisse respondent. The verb γινώσκειν in the concluding sentence of the section, though often equivalent, as Mr Taylor points out, to γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, is not so in the present passage, to judge from the words which follow: λέγοντες ἃ ἐγγίνωσκον.

§§ 13—15. *Amongst other propositions, the suggestion is made by an agent of Clearchus that they should choose fresh officers, and appeal to Cyrus for help to enable them to return to Greece. Clearchus declines to take the command, but promises his assistance in a subordinate capacity.*

καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι] These infinitives are explanatory of ἀπορία: ‘how impossible it was for them either to go or stay without the consent of Cyrus.’

§ 14. εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε] ‘nay one of them actually proposed.’ The δὴ is equivalent to *adeo* and has an intensifying force. Cf. II. 6. 20, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ εἰ ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντες στασιάξουσιν, and Thuc. III. 40, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ προσήκον ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε τοῦτο δοῦν. In the words εἰ μὴ βούλεται which take the place of εἰ μὴ βούλοιο, the sentence passes from the indirect to the direct narration, an idiom which is repeated again a few lines below where εἰ μὴ διδῶ stands for εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοίη, and still more prominently in the close of the speech where the indirect construction is altogether abandoned: ὦν πολλοὺς...ἔχομεν ἀνηπακότες. In such cases, as I have previously noticed, it is the *more prominent and emphatic* points of the speech that are presented in the *oratio recta*.

συσκευάζεσθαι] The Latin *convasari, vasa colligere*. There is no need to supply τινὰς with ἐλθόντας, as the subject is sufficiently suggested in the previous clauses. Consult the note on βουλευομένους in I. 1. 7. With προκαταληφόμενους which follows the case is different, as a fresh subject has to be supplied.

φιλίας] The adjective is not only a predicate but also proleptic: ‘to lead them through the country (and make it) a friendly one.’

ἀπάξει] ἀποίσει Bornemann after all the chief MSS, while Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors retain the reading of the text on the ground that ἀποφέρειν is only used of cattle or inanimate things. Macmichael reads ἀποίσει in his text, and ἀπάξει in his note.

ἔχομεν ἀνηπακότες] Cf. τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι (IV. 7. 1). The combination of ἔχω with a participle, usually the aorist but sometimes the perfect as in the instances before us, denotes at once the original action and the continuance of its effects. Compare a similar use of *habere* in Latin, e. g. in Cic. *ad Att.* I. 18. 5.

§ 15. *Another speech from Clearchus.*

ὥς μὲν στρατηγήσονται] ‘let no man speak of me as intending to undertake this command.’ The accusative ἐμὲ is directly dependent on the verb λέγέτω, a construction altogether different from those which we noticed in connexion with § 6. Στρατηγίαν is of course the accusative of the cognate substantive. With the second clause of the sentence (ὥς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ...πέισμαι) the construction is varied, partly to increase the emphasis and partly in consequence of the previous parenthesis.

καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι] Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 668,

καὶ τοῦτον ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα θαρσύνῃν ἐγὼ
καλῶς μὲν ἀρχεῖν, εὖ δ' ἂν ἀρχεσθαι θέλειν.

μάλιστα] *sub.* ἐπίσταται. In this and similar phrases καὶ is added for the sake of emphasis: cf. Plat. *Apol.* § 28 Ε εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε.

§§ 16 to end. *Another speaker suggests the difficulty of asking help from Cyrus when they are opposing his schemes, and proposes that a deputation be sent to demand from him a clear expression of his intentions. Acting on this advice, they send Clearchus and others of their number to Cyrus, who promises them an increase of pay but still conceals the object of the expedition.*

μὴ ποιουμένου] So Kühner, Bornemann and the majority of the editors, while Vollbrecht follows Krüger in omitting the negative. Accepting the reading of the text, we must render the passage thus, 'as though Cyrus would not presently be making the voyage home again,' for it is impossible that πάλιν can denote 'hereafter' as some of the commentators suggest. Ποιουμένου is no future participle, nor is ποιησόμενου necessary in its place. On the contrary, the present is the more emphatic tense, and denotes the certainty and confidence of the expectation. Even supposing that Krüger be right in omitting the negative, I am still not prepared to accept his translation, which is as follows: 'quasi Cyrus rediturus (*ideoque non ipse navibus opus habiturus*) esset.' It is assuredly far simpler to refer the words to the idea which is present in the speaker's mind: '(arguing thus) in the assurance that Cyrus would soon be making the voyage home again,' and consequently *would* require the vessels.

ὧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν] Another bold transition to the direct narration.

τί κωλύει κ.τ.λ.] It is surprising to see the difficulty which has been created by this apparently simple sentence. Thus Macmichael and others would give it an ironical sense: 'why should we not ask Cyrus to secure for us the heights as well?' On the other hand Kühner renders it as follows: 'what is to prevent Cyrus from ordering that the heights be occupied against our approach?' A third alternative is clearly possible, and one which I have no hesitation in preferring: 'what is to prevent him from instructing Cyrus how to occupy the heights against our approach?'

§ 17. ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη] In the case of the optative δοίη, the mood by a species of attraction is adapted to that of the main verb.

†αὐταῖς† ταῖς τριήρεσι] 'galleys and all' is the usual interpretation, with which compare the familiar phrase αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι. It is possible indeed that the article in the present instance may be a mere interpolation, which originated in the termination of the previous word. But there is an evident contrast intended between τριήρεσι and πλοίοις, which suggests that τριήρεσι is a dative of the instrument, and that αὐταῖς rather than the article is the interpolated word. Mr Taylor's rendering, 'with his ships of war,' is therefore, I think, the correct one, on the understanding that we omit the word αὐταῖς which appears in his text.

καταδύσῃ] The optative καταδύσαι, which is proposed by Poppo in place of καταδύση, would unquestionably be the usual sequence. But in the parallel clause of the sentence the three chief MSS are all in favour of the reading ἀγάγῃ: add to which, the subjunctive is more forcible and suggests the confidence of the expectation. We find a similar confusion of moods in the opening verses of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles:

λόγος μὲν ἐστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανεῖς,
ὥς οὐκ ἂν αἰὼν' ἐκμάθοις βροτῶν, πρὶν ἂν
θάνη τις κ.τ.λ.,

where apparently ἂν ἐκμάθοις is equivalent in sense to the future indicative, ἐκμαθεῖ.

ᾤ [ἂν] δοίῃ] Kühner reasonably objects to the introduction of ἂν in this connexion. Cf. ἃ ἡμῖν δοίῃ in the corresponding clause of the sentence, and a similar passage in III. 2. 36, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν, βουλευέσθαι ἡμῖς δέοι. It is possible, as he suggests, that ὃν δοίῃ was the original reading, of which ᾤ ἂν δοίῃ would be a natural and easy corruption.

§ 18. ταῦτα μὲν φλυναρίας] The demonstrative pronoun forms the subject of the proposition, and, in order to give it additional emphasis, it is not attracted as usual into agreement with φλυναρίας, but itself takes the place of the substantive.

ἐπιτήδείοι] 'suitable for the purpose.'

οἷαπερ] By attraction for οἷανπερ, which would be the accusative of *respect* or *relation*, like τί in the phrase τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι. Kühner admirably compares Thuc. II. 15, τῇ κρήνῃ...τὰ πλείεστος ἄξια ἐχρῶντο. For the subject of the allusion see I. 1. 2.

§ 19. πρὸς φιλίαν] = φιλικῶς, like πρὸς ἀνάγκην, πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν and similar phrases.

ἐπόμενοι ἂν] For the position of ἂν in the sentence, see note on § 6. The conditional clauses in each case are represented by the participles ἐπόμενοι and ἀπιόντες.

ἀναγγεῖλαι] We must return to the words ἀνδρας ἐλθόντας in § 18 for the subject of the verb.

πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι] 'to take counsel in reference thereto.'

§ 20. ἠρώτων] The verb takes a double accusative: 'questioned Cyrus concerning the resolutions that had been passed in the camp.'

ἀκούοι] ἀκούει Vollbrecht, while Kühner and the majority of the editors retain the optative. The internal evidence is perhaps in favour of the indicative, as the concluding chapters of this book are marked by frequent transitions to the direct narration, e. g. κὰν μὲν ἦ ἐκεῖ for κεί μὲν εἶη, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα, and in § 21 ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα for ἄγοι πρὸς βασιλέα.

Ἀβροκόμαν] Abrocomas, or Acrocomas, for the name appears in both forms, was a satrap of Artaxerxes. In the next chapter (§ 5) he is described as commanding a 'large army' amounting to 300,000 men. He was distant at this time about nineteen σταθμοί from the Greek camp, which Cyrus purposely estimates at less in order to encourage his troops to proceed.

§ 21. προσαιτοῦσι] 'they ask for *extra* pay.' White strangely enough translates προσαιτοῦσι as a participle. Observe the comparative force in ἡμιόλιον and similar words, in consequence of which they are often followed by a genitive. The employment of the active φέρειν in the sense of the middle φέρεσθαι is more common in poetry. Cf. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 5,

σμικρὸν μὲν ἐξαιτοῦντα, τοῦ σμικροῦ δ' ἔτι
μείων φέροντα κ.τ.λ.

In his note on these chapters Mr Taylor quotes at length a passage from Grote (ch. 69), which may be described as a eulogy upon the reasoning powers exhibited by the Greek troops on this and similar occasions. My own estimate of their intelligence is, I confess, a very different and less complimentary one. To me they seem singularly devoid of the power he claims for them—unreasoning creatures, swayed to and fro by every specious argument with which the circumstances may furnish their leaders. They may debate and argue, it is true, with every show of independence, but they always end by following the lead that is given them.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—5. *Cyrus continues his march across the Psarus and the Pyramus to the town of Issus, where he is joined by the fleet under Tamos and by deserters from Abrocomas. Leaving this, he makes for the Cilician Gates, of which the author gives a description.*

τὸν Ψάρον...τὸν Πύραμον] These rivers are now called respectively the *Seihun* and the *Zeihun*, the latter being an Arabic corruption of the Hebrew *Gihon*. The *Psarus* was crossed in all probability near *Adana* (Col. Chesn. II. 210), and the *Pyramus* near the present town of *Mallus* or *Misis*. After leaving the latter river, Cyrus enters a more difficult territory, obstructed by hills, (e. g. by the *Fibal an Nur* and a pass called the 'Iron Gate'), and also by marshes near the ruins of *Epiphanea*. Accordingly the value of the parasang, which on the other side of the *Pyramus* had been nearly three geographical miles, now drops in proportion, and only fifteen are traversed in a two days' march.

εἰς Ἴσσοῦς] Concerning its position, Ainsworth writes as follows: 'All the circumstances of the case point tolerably satisfactorily to a great extent of ruins scattered over the plain, north of the *Pinarus* (now the *Dalichai*).' The celebrated Altars of Alexander were in all probability not on the banks of the *Pinarus*, where Curtius places them, but between the mountain ranges of *Amanus* and *Rhosus* in the situation described by Pliny.

§ 2. Πυθαγόρας] In *Ill.* III. 1. 2, the name of the admiral is given as Samius. It is possible that he received the title of 'the Samian' either in playful allusion to his more celebrated namesake, or else to mark his nationality as an alien in the Spartan service.

ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν] From these words it is clear that Tamos was the admiral of the combined fleets, while Pythagoras held a subordinate command over the thirty-five Spartan ships. In his note on the passage Mr Taylor translates from the reading ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐταῖς, for which apparently there is no authority on the part of the MSS. Tamos has been mentioned previously in I. 2. 21.

ὅτε...φίλη ἦν] The MSS, with the exception of the four best, read ὅτι in place of ὅτε. Kühner prefers the latter on the ground that the very point of the allusion lies in the time which was chosen for the attack.

§ 3. παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν] An accusative of extension. In place of παρά, which appears in the five leading MSS and in the editions of Kühner and Vollbrecht, Macmichael and others edit κατὰ in the sense of 'over against.'

§ 4. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα] 'now these consisted of two fortified walls.' The plural ἦσαν is used in all probability because the word πύλαι is implied in ταῦτα. Kühner, however, in his note on the phrase ἦσαν τὰ βασίλεια (I. 2. 23) prefers the more recondite explanation: 'quia duae res commemorantur non coniunctae inter se.' The demonstrative pronoun is placed in agreement with the predicate to shew that the main emphasis is on the latter. Consult the note on ταῦτα μὲν φληαρίαι εἶναι in I. 3. 18. The conjecture of Weiske (ἦσαν δ' ἐνταῦθα) is mentioned with approval by Kühner, who retains notwithstanding the reading of the text on the ground that πύλαι may be used with perfect correctness to denote the entire pass including the fortifications.

Κάρσος ὄνομα] The inferior MSS give Κέρσος. It is now called the *Markas su*, and corresponds apparently to the *Crocodilon Fl.* of Pliny. The Gates stood at the point where the *Amanus* range makes its nearest approach to the shore, the one fortress being in Cilician, and the other in Syrian territory. According to Ainsworth, the wall can still be traced from the mountains down to the seashore where it terminates in a round tower.

ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον...ἦσαν] The construction may be explained as a species of attraction, like τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες in I. 2. 10, or, on the other hand, the words ἅπαν τὸ μέσον may be regarded as the accusative of *occupation* or *extension*. Cf. Thuc. III. 21, τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο... τοῖς φύλαξιν οἰκήματα διανενημένα ὑποδόμητο.

πέτραι ἡλίβατοι] 'precipitous rocks.' Eustathius, with whom Buttman agrees, derives the word from ἀλιτεῖν 'to stumble,' while Hesiychius refers it to an old form ἀλιψ=πέτρα. Like the phrase ὁλοτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους (IV. 2. 3), διδέασι (V. 8. 24), and many others in the *Anabasis*, it is borrowed directly from the language of Homer.

§ 5. ὅπως...φυλάττοιεν] A remarkable sentence owing to the sudden transitions in the subject, ἀποβιβάσειεν referring to Κύρος, βιασάμενοι to οἱ ὀπλῖται, and φυλάττοιεν to οἱ πολέμοι.

§§ 6—8. The march is continued to Myriandus where Xenias and Pasion desert. Notwithstanding a rumour to the contrary, Cyrus declines to follow them, or to retaliate upon their families and property.

Μυριάνδον] The form Μυριανδρον is found in the inferior MSS, while the reading of the text is suggested in four of the more important ones,

and occurs moreover in Herod. iv. 38. The site of the place has not been identified, though Ainsworth suggests that 'it may yet be found in the wooded country that lies between *Alexandretta* and *Rhosus*, at or near the coast, about opposite the entrance of the pass of *Beilan*.'

§ 7. φιλοτιμηθέντες] 'from a feeling of jealousy.' The use of the verb in this sense as an equivalent for φιλονεικεῖν is almost entirely confined to Xenophon. The circumstances of the case are mentioned in I. 3. 7.

εἰ ἀλώσονται] 'thought they were to be pitied, if they should be caught.' As Mr Taylor observes, the clause is virtually in the oblique narration as denoting the thoughts and impressions of a party in the camp.

§ 8. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπ.] For a similar collocation of particles cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1108, ἀλλ' εὖ γε μὲν τὰδ' ἴσθι, κἄν τὸ μηδὲν ὦ, and *Al.* 1371. Kühner notices the distinction between ἀποδεδράκασιν i. e. *clam aufugere*, 'ut nescias quo quis fugerit,' and ἀποπεφεύγασιν i. e. *effugere*, 'ut quis deprehendi non possit.'

αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ] The plural pronoun is often employed after ἄλλος and τις when they are used in a collective or indefinite sense. See note on παλῖντο (v. 8. 16), which is read for παλοῖτο in two of the chief MSS.

ἴωσαν] This form of the imperative occurs again in Xen. *de Ven.* iv. 3, while the form ἰόντων does not appear in our author except in a doubtful passage of the *Cyrop.* (II. 3. 21).

καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας] Kühner explains the omission of the article by the fact that the hostages in question are regarded collectively under separate heads. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 257, σὺν παιδί καὶ γυναίκε δουλώσειν ἔτι, 'that he would yet live to enslave him with wife and child.'

§§ 9—13. The march is continued to *Thapsacus*, two rivers being crossed on the way called respectively the *Chalus* and *Dardas*. At *Thapsacus* the real object of the expedition is disclosed to the soldiers, the majority of whom are appeased by promises of extra pay.

παρασάγγας εἵκοσιν] 'A long journey of from 50 to 60 miles, in which several objects of interest are passed over without an observation,' e.g. the pass between *Amanus* and *Rhosus*, which is the true Syrian Gates, and the large and marshy plain of Antioch. (*Ainsworth*.) The same authority suggests that the reason for this silence may perhaps be ascribed either to a temporary illness or to the despondency caused by the defection of *Xenias* and *Pasion*.

ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον] According to *Ainsworth*, the *Chalib* or *Kizwair* is meant, the river of Aleppo. Although the direct distance is perhaps not sufficient, yet, besides encountering the difficulties above mentioned, the army would have been obliged to turn northwards to avoid the rocky deserts of *Shaikh Barakat*. Col. *Chesney* suggests a different route, which would have taken Cyrus in a north-easterly direction as far as the *Baluk*, a small tributary of the *Sajur*, from which he would have turned almost back again in the direction of the south-west until he met the *Chalib*.

θεοὺς ἐνόμζον] A remnant of the Assyrian and Syro-Arabian worship of fish-gods. Derceto, the mother of Semiramis, was supposed to

have been turned into a fish, and Semiramis herself into a pigeon. Selden (*de diis Syriis*, p. 265) makes Derceto identical with Dagon. Dr Russell discovered seventeen kinds of fish in the *Chalib*, and also found a fountain called *Hailan* in the neighbourhood, the fish in which were regarded as sacred. (Russ. *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, II. 207.)

ἐς ζώνην δεδομένα] Compare in particular Plat. *Alcib.* I. 123 B., and a passage quoted by Macmichael from Cic. *in Verr.* I. 3. 23, *mos est* (regum Persicorum) *plures uxores habere: his autem uxoribus civitates attribueri hoc modo. Haec civitas mulieri redimiculum praebet, haec in collum, haec in crines.*

§ 10. τοῦ Δάρδατος ποταμοῦ] The best manuscript authority is in favour of Δάρδατος, which is accepted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors. Dindorf reads Δάρδης on the authority of one good MS and others of inferior weight. The river itself is difficult to identify. Kühner follows Ainsworth, who considers that it was a canal of the river Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of which are the ruins of a town called *Balis*. On the other hand Prof. Koch and Col. Chesney identify it with what is at present a very small stream called *al Bab*, and by Rennell, the *Fountain of Fay*. Mr Taylor accepts the latter view as more in accordance with the distance traversed, and with the mention of the *Euphrates* in § 11 which implies that the river was not reached till that period.

τοῦ Συρίας ἀρχαντος] ‘former satrap of Syria.’ Kühner understands the aorist as implying that he was in power up to the time of Cyrus’ coming. If so, ἀρχωντος would surely have been the tense employed. The use of the aorist leaves the date of his authority uncertain, but most assuredly denotes that it had ended before Cyrus came.

§ 11. ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν] In his view of this passage Ainsworth is supported by Col. Chesney, who describes these (II. 213) as ‘pressing marches, following and constantly touching the *Euphrates* on the way from *Balis*.’ Supposing them to be right, the use of the preposition ἐπὶ is, as Mr Taylor points out, a very lax one, while a long-continued march beside the river-banks would seem to have been decidedly impolitic for troops who had to force a crossing.

Θάψακος], The ancient *Tiphshah*, which, like *Thapsacus*, signifies a ‘ford.’ It is now known as the ford of the *Anazah* or *Badawin*, and the town itself is called *Suriyah*.

§ 12. τοῖς προτέροις] Schneider suggests τοῖς πρότερον, but against the authority of the MSS. Kühner explains προτέροις as an adverbial use of the adjective; but I am myself inclined to understand τοῖς προτέροις as a substantive in the following sense: ‘as in the case of the former party when they marched up the country with Cyrus.’ The allusion is to the hoplites of Xenias, who are mentioned in I. 1. 2.

οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων] ‘though they were not going to fight.’ For this use of the genitive absolute in places where we might have expected a participle in agreement with the subject, see note on οἰκισθέντος in v. 3. 7. The idiom is employed when it is required to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement.

§§ 14, 15. The address of Meno to his troops.

πλέον] is usually connected with προτιμήσεσθε, in which case either

πλέον or the preposition in the compound will be redundant. Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 182, for a precisely similar example:

καὶ μείζον' ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πάτρας
φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω.

It is true that Kühner suggests a different explanation by which πλέον is to be taken in close connexion with the participles κινδυνεύσαντες... πονήσαντες. But the rhythm of the entire sentence, and the impossibility of separating τῶν ἄλλων from στρατιωτῶν are strong arguments in favour of the former view. Compare moreover the use of μαλιστα in I. 6, 5.

δεῖται Κύρος ἐπεσθαι] 'wants the Greeks to follow him,' while δεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων would denote that the request was actually addressed to the Greeks, 'begs of the Greeks to follow him.'

§ 15. ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὔσιν] 'in the belief that you are his most zealous friends.' For the addition of καὶ in the phrase εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος, see note on I. 3. 15. The expression πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται is found in a similar sense in IV. 6. 3.

ὡς φίλοι τεύξεσθε] This reading, which is adopted by Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors on the authority of three leading MSS, is displaced by Kühner in favour of ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε, who thereby introduces a fresh element of difficulty into an already complicated sentence. There can be little doubt that the genitive ἄλλου is placed by attraction for ἄλλο, as the employment of a double genitive after τυγχάνειν is a questionable construction: 'and whatever else you may require I am sure you will obtain from Cyrus in the character of his friends.'

§§ 16—end. Acting on his advice, they are the first to cross the river. The march is then continued to the Araxes.

Γλοῦν] He was the son of *Tamos* the Egyptian, and at a later period deserted to Artaxerxes (Diod. XIV. 35).

ἤδη] 'for the time being I confine myself to thanks.' Schneider would omit ἤδη as superfluous, but it appears in two precisely similar passages (*Cyrop.* IV. I. 2, IV. I. 4), and forms a forcible contrast with the suggestion which follows.

ἐπαινέσετε] Kühner adopts this reading in preference to ἐπαινέσητε on the authority of the three chief MSS. It is also more expressive, as the future indicative denotes not only the *object* but the *measures* taken to secure it.

§ 17. τῶν διαβαίνοντων] Both Vollbrecht and Kühner retain the article: Krüger would omit it as implying that only a portion of the troops made the passage. But the combination is a favourite one with our author (cf. οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες V. 2. 17, and τοὺς πίπτοντας IV. 5. 7), and in the present instance οἱ διαβαίνοντες is a collective substantive, representing in fact τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν.

§ 18. διαβατὸς γένοιτο] 'never till that day had the river been fordable on foot, but only by using boats.' Zeune compares Plut. *Luc.* 24, where Lucullus is flattered by the same suggestion. Mr Taylor's rendering is somewhat different: 'people did not cross the river on foot, when the bridge—or the ferry-boats—were there.' In confirmation of the theory that the passage took place in autumn, Ainsworth notices

the fact that the ford in question is navigable for steamers in the spring of the year, but not between October and February.

διδῶν] This use of the subjunctive in place of the more indefinite optative comes under the same category as the transitions on which we commented towards the close of Cap. III.

ὑποχωρήσαι] 'had clearly made way for Cyrus in the capacity of its future king.'

§ 19. τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν] The *Khabur* is meant, identical with the *Chabar*, upon the banks of which Nebuchadnezzar planted a colony of Jews, among whom was the prophet Ezekiel. Both Layard and Chesney speak of extensive ruins which have been discovered in the district bordering upon the site of the Greek encampment. The army was now in Mesopotamia, but the country which lies between *Thapsacus* and the nomad Arabs is called Syria by both Pliny and Strabo.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—3. *The troops continue their march, keeping the Euphrates on their right, through a level country stocked with every description of game.*

διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας] 'i.e. the Mesopotamian desert and the basin of the Euphrates...rather than the vast southern peninsula.' (Rawlinson.)

ἅπαντα ἦσαν] For the plural verb, see note on I. 2. 23. Compare the use of αὐτοῦς after τίς in I. 4. 8.

§ 2. δορκάδες] Ainsworth notices the word as a generic name among the Greeks for the various species of the gazelle or antelope tribe. The ὠτίς or bustard no doubt derived its name from the fringe-like appendages which protect the ear. The optative διώκοι in the following sentence is, of course, frequentative.

προδραμώντες [ἄν] ἔστασαν] I believe that Vollbrecht and Dindorf are altogether right in omitting the particle ἄν, the manuscript authority for which is of the weakest possible kind. Indeed its combination with either ἔστασαν or εἰστήκεσαν in the sense of a frequentative imperfect, like αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἄν αἰεὶ διελέγετο (*Mem.* I. I. 16), would be extremely unusual, though perhaps defensible owing to the peculiar character of the verb in question. Nor is it required by the sense of the passage, since its addition would merely present the statement in a less positive form. Kühner however not only admits it into his text, but makes it follow ἔστασαν, an impossible position whether we regard the rhythm or construction of the sentence.

διαστάντες οἱ ἵππεῖς] The description irresistibly suggests the arrangements for the *Lampadephoria*. Tr. 'unless the riders were posted at intervals and took up the chase successively with their horses.' διαδεχόμενοι is virtually equivalent to ἐκ διαδοχῆς. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 30, καὶ νῦν ἀπωθεῖ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον.

τῶν ἀλίσκομένων] We have a similar combination in τοὺς πίπτοντας (IV. 5. 7), and one to which the same exception may be taken, on the

ground that it combines in a collective form a series of events, which it is the object of the context and of the present participle to represent as separate and independent actions.

§ 3. ἀπέσπα] So Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors, while Macmichael and others read ἀπέπτατο. The best MSS give ἀπέπτα, which is supposed to be an Attic form of ἀπέπτῃ. The use of ἀποσπᾶν as an intransitive in the sense of 'to draw off' is apparently open to question, and accordingly Kühner proposes to supply τοὺς διωκοντας in the present instance. No doubt as a general rule the passive is employed, but in VII. 2. 11 we have an example of ἀποσπάσας used apparently in this sense.

ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν] The full construction would be as follows: ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν, αἰρουσα (τὰς πτέρυγας) κ.τ.λ. 'and also with its wings, which it raised and used like a sail.' ἀνίσταναι is to 'start' or 'put up' game, while ἀπαγορεύειν, in sense if not in form, is a poetical equivalent for ἀποκρᾶναι.

§§ 4—6. *Continuing their march, the troops arrive at Corsote, situated on the river Mascas, and afterwards at Pylae. The difficulties of the route described.*

τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμὸν] Ainsworth describes this as a canal from the Euphrates 'by which a considerable tract of alluvium is cut off from the main land.' The verb περιεῖρετο may be descriptive of this, or, more probably, of the great bend which occurs in the main river close to this point. The place is now known as *Izrah* or *Israh*. The phrase πόλις ἐρήμη might mean no more than a 'city in the desert,' or possibly that its inhabitants had deserted it at the approach of Cyrus, but the natural explanation is the best, as the district was apparently inhabited only by nomadic tribes.

§ 5. ἐπὶ Πύλας] Ainsworth and Rennell are of opinion that the name implies no more than 'the termination of the hilly country in the level alluvial plain of Babylonia.' Col. Chesney fixes the site with greater precision at twenty-seven miles below *Hit*, or nearly opposite to the village of *Farrah*, i.e. about twenty-four miles short of the Median Wall. Macmichael considers that the reference is to the actual pass through the Median Wall, as the latter, when entire, must have extended to the *Euphrates*.

ὄνους ἀλέτας] 'mill-stones.' In strict correctness, the word ὄνος would be used only of the upper stone. The idea of *motion* or *extension* sufficiently justifies the accusative in the phrase παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν. ορύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες, 'quarrying and shaping them.'

§ 6. ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγορᾷ] Kühner notices this fact as in keeping with the character of the Lydians, who had been deprived of their arms at the time of their subjugation by Cyrus the Great. The sale of wheat and barley at one and the same price illustrates, he adds, the severity of the famine. The καπίθη contained about three and a half pints: while the σίγλος would nearly represent our shilling.

κρέα οὖν ἐσθίουντες] Mr Taylor compares by way of illustration Caes. *Bell. Civ.* I. 48, where flesh-meat is called 'secundum inopiae subsidium.'

§§ 7—9. *An incident is described as affording a good illustration of*

the energy of the troops. The reasons which induced Cyrus to hasten his march.

ἦν δὲ τούτων...οὖς] This construction must be carefully distinguished from the well-known *schema Pindaricum*, of which a remarkable instance occurs in Eur. *Ion*, 1146,

ἐνῆν δ' ὕφανται γράμμασιν τοιαῖδ' ὕφαλ.

In the case before us the verb and relative cohere closely and are declined as one word. But the construction, which is common enough with the present indicative, is extremely rare with the imperfect, and, so far as I can gather, without a parallel except in Xenophon.

διατελέσαι] Kühner regards the use as intransitive, though in IV. 5. 11 the accusative ὁδόν is added. Χιλὸν is in all probability 'green fodder,' though in IV. 5. 25 it is used of 'hay,' in one case with the addition of the adjective ξηρός, and in the other without it.

καὶ δὴ ποτε] 'indeed on one occasion,' a phrase stamped by the late Mr Shilleto as a 'barbarous collocation of particles.'

λαμβάνοντας τοῦ βαρ. στρ.] A partitive genitive: 'to take some of the Persian troops and join in extricating the waggons.'

§ 8. ὥσπερ ὀργῇ] 'apparently in a passion.' The best editors are agreed in connecting these words with ἐκέλευσε rather than with σχολαίως ποιεῖν. It greatly improves the rhythm of the sentence, and there was moreover no cause for irritation on the part of Glus and Pigres.

συνεπισπεύσαι] Macmichael still edits συνεπισπεύσειν after the five leading MSS, though it has been abandoned by Vollbrecht, Kühner, Poppo and the majority of the editors as less suitable both as regards the construction and the sense. The aorist indicates more strongly the immediate and pressing necessity for the work. Kühner regards συνεπισπεύσαι as a condensed expression for συνεπισπεύσαντας ἐκβιβάζειν. I question the necessity of this explanation, as instances are not wanting of verbs of this class being followed by a direct accusative, more especially in authors who, like Xenophon, lean to the language of poetry. Tr. 'to aid in urging forward the waggons.'

μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας] A strange expression, which would have no place in Thucydides or Demosthenes, who use the word only in its more natural sense to signify the subdivision of some whole, e.g. of an army, a fleet or the like.

κάνδους] The κάνδους or caftan was a garment worn over the χιτῶν and corresponding to the *chlamys*.

μάλα κατὰ πρᾶνου] In this and similar expressions Kühner considers that the adverb is displaced solely for the sake of rhythm or emphasis. But, as I have suggested in a note on πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι (III. 1. 22), the passage gains in force if we take μάλα independently, like *idque* and similar combinations in Latin: 'and that too down a steep incline.'

ἀναξυρίδας] A tight-fitting trowser, like the *braccae* worn by the Gauls. Cf. Prop. (IV. 10. 43),

illi virgatis iaculantis ab agmine braccis,

where the epithet *virgatis* exactly corresponds to ποικίλας in the text. The looser garments were called θύλακοι (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1087).

θᾶπτον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο] This passage, like one in the next sentence, is noteworthy, as in both cases we have an example of the redundant ὥς which is one of the author's most favourite idioms.

μετεώρους] 'lifted and carried out the waggons.' An alternative rendering is admissible, by which the adjective is made *proleptic*, 'carried out *on to higher ground*.'

§ 9. ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θάπτον ἔλθοι] Dindorf is the only editor of importance who omits the ἂν, which is found in all the best MSS without exception. For its insertion, see note on δοίη in I. 3. 17, and compare III. 2. 12, IV. 1. 2. The optative is accommodated to the *oratio obliqua*, and the particle, which is a remnant of the direct narration, is allowed to retain its place even after the sentence has changed its form.

μαχεῖσθαι...συναγείρεσθαι] Observe the change to the present in the latter verb: 'is all the while assembling,' συνιδεῖν in the following sentence is 'to take a collected view.' For καὶ...δέ, see note on I. 2.

§ 10. *The troops arrive at Charmande. Their device for obtaining provisions.*

Χαρμάνδη] The site has not been identified. Ainsworth places it at *Hit*: Col. Chesney, in the neighbourhood of ruins found on the right bank of the Euphrates, opposite to the island of *Jibbah* or *Jubbah*.

στεγάσματα] Vollbrecht, Kühner, σκεπάσματα Dindorf and Schneider, the latter reading being found in the corresponding passage of Suidas (II. p. 248). Kühner is strongly in favour of the reading of the text, but he prefaces his argument, which is mainly based on a passage of Arrian (III. 29), with a somewhat arbitrary distinction as to the use of the substantives. Granting that tent-skins are meant, there is nothing in the form or usage of σκέπας and σκέπασμα to preclude their employment in this sense, more especially in an author who draws largely from the language of poetry. It is a curious fact that inflated skins are still used in India for the same purpose.

τῆς βαλάνου...τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος] 'the kernel of the date-palm.' Cf. Herod. I. 193.

For the use of τοῦτο in reference to the feminine μέλινη, cf. IV. 6. 3, τοῦτό γε δὴ...ἢ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια.

§§ 11—end. *A dispute between Clearchus and Meno, which is taken up on both sides by their respective friends. Proxenus attempts to interfere, but without success, and the soldiers are only appeased by an address from Cyrus.*

ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι] For the accusative, see note on πολυπραγμονεῖν τι (V. I. 15).

ἔλεγεν] Observe the tense, 'made a statement of the matter.'

§ 12. ἔησι τῇ ἀξίνῃ] 'let fly at him with his axe.' A variation of the ordinary phrase ἔησι τὴν ἀξίνην, with which compare the use of βάλλειν with a dative.

§ 13. παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὅπλα] παραγγέλλει εἶναι εἰς τὰ ὅπλα would be the complete phrase, but the shortened form of it serves to indicate the haste and excitement of the moment.

πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας] Kühner admirably illustrates this order by the following passage from Corn. Nep. *Chabr.* I. 2, *reliquam phalan-*

gem loco vetuit cedere, obnixoque genu scuto, projecta hasta, impetum excipere hostium docuit.

οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν] This must refer to the neutral portion of the troops, who had no interest in the dispute between the rival officers.

§ 14. οὖν] is resumptive after the previous parenthesis. For the various meanings of the phrase θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, see note on ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ (IV. 2. 16), and the well-known comments of Grote in connexion with Thuc. II. 2. Two out of the three usages are illustrated in the present passage and in the final sentence of the chapter.

§ 15. τὰ παλτά] 'his two darts.' These are mentioned again in I. 8. 3, and in *Cyrop.* I. 2. 9, where their use is explained as follows: ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀφείναι, τῷ δ', ἂν δέη, ἐκ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι. In τῶν πιστῶν the allusion is probably to those of his followers who in VIII. 25 are called οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι.

§ 16. κατακεκόψεσθαι] Observe the force of the future perfect. The omission of the article with βάρβαροι is easily explained by regarding the substantive as virtually equivalent to a proper name. Cf. Κοτυωρίται δὲ οὗτοι (V. 5. 10), and a note on the passage.

§ 17. For the phrase ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο 'came to himself,' cf. *Soph. Phil.* 950, and *Aristoph. Vesp.* 642.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—5. *The Greeks come upon the track of the enemy. Orontes forms the project of deserting to Artaxerxes with a large body of cavalry. His detection and trial.*

προϋόντων] For the omission of the article, see note on the same participle in I. 2. 17.

οὔτοι] The ordinary explanation, according to which ἱππεῖς is to be supplied from the genitive ἱππων, is unnecessary, as ἵπποι is in itself equivalent to ἱππεῖς, e. g. in the following passage (VII. 3. 39), αὐτὸς δ' ἐφέψομαι τελευταῖος τοὺς ἵππους ἔχων.

τὰ πολέμια] τὰ πολεμικά Schneider, a needless alteration, since the two adjectives, as Kühner points out, are on occasion interchangeable. Poppo proposes to join ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τὰ πολέμια on the analogy of the phrase τὰ πολέμια ἀριστος, but the position of the article is decisive against this combination; add to which, τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος (εἶναι) ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις is only a variation of the phrase τὰ πολέμια ἀριστος νομιζόμενος.

§ 2. κατακάνοι ἂν] κατακαίνοι ἂν is found in the majority of the MSS, but Kühner, Vollbrecht, and all the leading editors have adopted the aorist as necessitated by the tenses with which it is combined. The presence of ἂν in this and similar constructions has been already explained in a note on ἂν ἔλθοι in I. 5. 9. It represents in the oblique narration what in the direct would stand as follows: εἴ μοι δοίης ἱππέας χιλίους, κατακάνοιμι ἂν. If the reading be right, we must supply the particle again with ἔλοι, κωλύσειε and ποιήσειεν. I am inclined however to think that, owing to the similarity of termination, it has dropped

out of the MSS after the word αὐτῶν. With the subsequent verbs its presence is less required, as the contingencies which they suggest are more remote and uncertain.

κωλύσειε τοῦ καλεῖν] The genitive is unusual after κωλύσειε, and, as Mr Taylor suggests, emphasises the fact that they were already engaged in the work of destruction.

Observe the force of the preposition in διαγγεῖλαι, ‘to carry home an account of it to the Persian king.’

§ 3. ἐτοίμους εἶναι] ‘were at his disposal.’ In the sentence which follows, ἀλλά, which is explained by some of the commentators as equivalent to *proinde* or *igitur*, is more nearly represented by the Latin *sed*: ‘only he requested the king to give instructions to his cavalry to welcome him in the character of a friend.’ In place of φίλιον Poppo prefers φίλον, a reading which is suggested in two good MSS. It is however less forcible than φίλιον in connexion with the context, the reference being rather to his *feelings* as a friend than to his *position* as such.

§ 4. ἐπτὰ] because it was a sacred number with the Persians. So Ormuzd was supposed to rule the heavens by the aid of seven ministers, the counterparts of whom on earth were the seven satraps of the Persian king.

§ 5. αὐτῷ] sc. Κλεάρχῳ. The genitive τῶν Ἑλλήνων is dependent on the preposition in προτιμηθῆναι, while μάλιστα, like πλέον in the similar passage of I. 4. 14, is virtually redundant.

ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου] ‘opens the conference,’ while the middle ἄρχεσθαι would signify ‘begins his speech.’ Cf. III. 2. 7, and with it contrast the use of the active in I. 4. 15 (ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν), and again in III. 2. 17 (ἄρχω τῆς φυγῆς).

§§ 6—8. The address of Cyrus, and his interrogation of the accused. καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων] ‘in the sight of gods and men.’ See note on πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων (IV. 3. 26). In these cases πρὸς is literally ‘on the side of,’ ‘from the quarter of,’ the genitive denoting the point from which the action, or the contemplation of the action, is supposed to commence. The preposition παρὰ is more usual and also more definite in cases like the present where the idea of motion is practically lost.

αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν] ‘and I, in the course of my operations against him, brought him to this pass that he decided to abandon the campaign against me.’ The accusative is governed directly by ἐποίησα: otherwise we should have required the dative. The sentence is loosely constructed and very characteristic of the author, especially as regards the use of αὐτὸν and τούτῳ in reference to the same individual, a combination which would have been studiously avoided by a more careful writer.

δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα] Cf. Diod. Sic. XVI. 43 τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν ἔδωκε Οετταλίῳ· ἔστι δὲ ἡ πίστις αὕτη βεβαιωτάτη παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις.

§ 7. οὐκοῦν] Poppo, Krüger and Macmichael edit οὐκοῦν, which is rejected by Kühner as a violation of the well-known rule which limits the use of οὐκοῦν in questions to cases in which it is required to lay a strong stress on the negative.

ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοῦς] Our author is notoriously lax in his use of the preposition εἰς. See notes on IV. 5. 18, and V. 4. 5. In the present instance however we may render it as follows: 'you left me (and started) for Mysia.'

αὐτῆς ἀπέγνωνς Schneider, while Kühner defends the text, comparing Theog. 419, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τιγῶ, γιγνώσκων ἡμετέραν δύναμιν, where δύναμιν, as in the case before us, means 'the character (i. e. the weakness) of your forces.' A more valid argument against the reading of the text might be raised on the score of euphony.

τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος] We may infer from the addition of the article that the allusion is to the famous temple at Ephesus. The form ἐφησθα is common in Homer, from whom in all probability our author borrowed it.

§ 8. περὶ ἐμέ] 'in your relations with me,' less definite than πρὸς ἐμέ. In the clause which follows observe the use of γὰρ in cases where an ellipse must be understood to complete the construction. Cf. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς... πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα (V. 8. 11).

§§ 9—end. Clearchus and the generals deliver their verdict, after which Orontes is led away and secretly despatched.

ἐκποδῶν ποιέσθαι] ποιέσθαι is no doubt a strict middle: the use of the passive voice being extremely rare in connexion with ἐκποδῶν and similar words.

τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι] 'at any rate as regards this man.' See note on τὸ νῦν εἶναι (III. 2. 37). Three explanations have been suggested of this construction: (i) that εἶναι is redundant (cf. Matth. 282), (ii) that τὸ εἶναι is equivalent to a verbal substantive in the accusative, and (iii) that the addition of the infinitive tends to limit or qualify the meaning of the phrase. The last of the above explanations is now generally accepted as the true one.

τοὺς ἐθέλοντας φίλους τούτους] This refers apparently to the officers who had assembled to hear the decision, though they had not taken part in the actual trial.

§ 10. ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης] Diodorus Siculus (xvii. p. 510) mentions this as the usual custom among the Persians when a criminal had been condemned to death. The active form ἔλαβον, which is read or suggested in four of the leading MSS, is adopted by Vollbrecht, Kühner and Dindorf, while the majority of the editors prefer to read ἐλάβοντο with the inferior MSS. Considering the genitive which follows, we might naturally have expected the latter form: it would, however, have been altogether out of place with the accusative Ὀρόντην, instead of which, as Kühner points out, the genitive Ὀρόντων would have been indispensable to the construction.

ἐπὶ θανάτῳ] 'for death,' i. e. as a sign he was to die. The phrase is exchanged for ἐπὶ θάνατον towards the close of the section both in consideration of the verb ἀγοιτο, and because the latter phrase suggests more directly the object of his removal.

§ 11. σκηπτούχων] 'mace-bearers.' The office was originally instituted by Cyrus the Elder, and the persons selected for it formed the body-guard of the king.

ὅπως ἀπέθανεν] Comparing Herod. VII. 114, Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζών-

τας κατορύσσειν, Kühner suggests the possibility that this form of death may have been reserved for Orontes. The concluding portion of the narrative is conceived in our author's best style: the language, which is simplicity itself, rising at times to the dignity of tragedy.

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—4. *The march is resumed. At the third station Cyrus reviews his troops, after which he holds a council of war. His address to the officers.*

παρασάγγας δώδεκα] The comparative shortness of the stages is due, in Mr Taylor's opinion, to the necessity for extra caution owing to the proximity of the enemy.

νύκτας] 'the night-watches.' Cf. III. 1. 33. The plural is used in reference to the parts into which the whole is divisible. For the phrase εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν 'against the morrow,' compare εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν (IV. 1. 15), and εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν (V. 3. 10), unless in the latter case the preposition means simply 'to meet the requirements of the feast.'

§ 2. πῶς] In place of ὅπως. Compare the use of τί for ὅ τι in I. 3. 18, ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον, τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρήσθαι.

§ 3. ὅπως οὖν ἔσσεθαι] We must supply, as usual, ὁράτε or σκοπεῖτε before ὅπως. There is apparently no valid ground for the objections which have been raised against ὑπὲρ as an interpolation, although the more ordinary construction is εὐδαιμονίζειν τινά τινος.

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην αὖ] The statement is particularly forcible as coming from Cyrus, for among the Persians no man was regarded as free-born with the single exception of the King himself. Cf. I. 9. 29, παρὰ μὲν Κύρου, δούλου ὄντος.

§ 4. αἰσχύνεσθαι μοι δοκῶ] because the Persians were his fellow-countrymen. 'In regard to all other points, methinks I am actually ashamed (when I consider) what sort of people, when we come to deal with them, you will find the inhabitants to be.' The position of ἡμῖν in the sentence is a conclusive reason for combining it with the verb rather than with τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας, though the latter rendering is preferred by the majority of the editors.

ἀνθρώπους] A distinct contrast is intended between ἀνθρώπους in this sentence and ἀνδρῶν in the next, which Macmichael illustrates from Herod. VII. 210, where the reference is likewise to the Persians: δῆλον ἐποίηεν βασιλεῖ ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποὶ εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες.

ὕμῶν] I am strongly inclined to agree with Schneider, who would omit this word from the text on the authority of one good MS. The repetition of ὕμῶν in the second clause is extremely awkward and unnatural, and, as it seems to me, perfectly unnecessary when we consider the emphatic position of the word at the commencement of the sentence: 'But, as regards you, if you prove yourselves good men and true.' For the arguments on the other side I must refer my readers to Kühner's edition, though he omits to mention one of the most effective.

that inelegancies of this kind are frequent in the *Anabasis*, and indeed characteristic of Xenophon's style.

§§ 5-8. *Cyrus renews his promises of favour, and points to the extent of the Persian empire as a pledge for their fulfilment.*

Γαυλίτης] He is possibly identical with a person of that name who is mentioned in Thuc. VIII. 85, as having served under Tissaphernes. The words φνγὰς Σάμιος are not inconsistent with the fact that Thucydides in the passage in question describes him as a Carian.

καὶ μὲν] 'and yet.' In all the inferior MSS the article is introduced before προσιόντος, but Kühner omits it, and no doubt advisedly, as the words τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος read better as a genitive absolute than in immediate connexion with τοιούτω: 'because you are in this crisis, now that the danger is drawing nigh.'

μέμνοιο] This rare optative, which is found in all the MSS, is defended by Kühner on the analogy of the form κάθοιο. Vollbrecht however adopts μεμνήο, a form which occurs in Plat. *Repub.* VII. 518 A, while the majority of the editors prefer μεμνῶ.

§ 6. πάντα σατραπεύουσιν] σατραπεύειν is usually followed by a genitive, but general words, like pronouns, numerals and adjectives, can, in the accusative case, be constructed with verbs of every kind.

§ 8. εἰσήσαν] Observe the force of the tense: 'had each an interview in turn.' Schneider would omit the words οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ as an interpolation, on the ground that the officers in question had formed a portion of the original audience. We must remember however that the speech so far had been a general one: now each officer obtains permission to urge his personal claims.

ἐμπιπλὰς...τὴν γνώμην] 'he fulfilled their expectations.' The phrase occurs again in Dem. *Meid.* p. 543, τὴν ἀναιδῆ γνώμην ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοῦ.

§ 9. *Clearchus dissuades Cyrus from taking an active part in the coming engagement.*

οἱ γὰρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι] Kühner understands these words as implying a personal encounter between the brothers, an explanation which I cannot think probable in itself, or borne out by the use of μαχεῖσθαι in § 18, οὐκ ἄρα ἐτι μαχεῖται, εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις. This latter view of the passage is adopted by Mr Taylor, who thinks that the word ἀμαχεῖ would not have been used in reference to a personal conflict.

§§ 10-13. *A description of the rival armies.*

ἄσπις] This collective substantive occurs again in Herod. v. 30, δεκτακισχιλίην ἄσπιδα, and compare with it the use of ὅπλα for ὅπλῃται. There is a considerable discrepancy between the totals given in this passage and in I. 2. 9. Taking into account the reinforcements which had joined them, and deducting 100 men for the loss sustained by Meno's troops, we should have expected the total to stand at 12,000 hoplites.

Zeune suggests that the words καὶ χιλία may have formed part of the original text, the replacement of which would bring the totals into tolerable agreement, more especially as the increase in the number of the peltasts (2500 as compared with 2000) may have been made at the expense of the heavy-armed troops. Another theory is to the effect that

the totals are given *exclusive* of the hoplites who had been left in charge of the baggage. Had the deficiency been occasioned solely by losses, whether from disease or otherwise, it is scarcely possible that they would have passed without mention in the previous narrative.

ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα] For an account of these, cf. I. 8. 10, and *Cyrop.* VI. 1. 29.

§ 12. (καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες)] With the exception of Kühner and Vollbrecht, nearly all the editors concur in omitting these words as an interpolation. Kühner defends their introduction on the ground that ἄρχοντες represents a general idea, the technical divisions of which are the στρατηγοὶ or senior officers, and the ἡγεμόνες of inferior rank. But, as each of these officers was in command of the same number of troops, there is every reason for inferring that their authority was equal: at any rate it is extremely improbable that in so vast an army any but the very highest in command can be represented by the small total of four. On the other hand, if the substantives are simply explanatory of the fact that the four ἄρχοντες were *ex officio* στρατηγοὶ and ἡγεμόνες, the sense of the passage is intelligible but weak.

ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης] His negligence in the defence of the Syrian gates (I. 4. 5) suggests the probability that his tardy arrival on the present occasion was intentional on his part. It is at any rate clear that he started in advance of Cyrus and his army (I. 4. 5, I. 4. 18).

§§ 14—end. *Artaxerxes declines the engagement, abandoning the defence of the trench which he had constructed against the invaders. A soothsayer who had prophesied this result is rewarded by Cyrus.*

τάφρος...ὀρυκτῇ] The phrase occurs in Hom. II. VIII. 179. The object of this trench was to exclude Cyrus from the rich corn-districts in the enclosed plain. Forming an angle with the Euphrates, it apparently took a north-easterly direction until it joined the Median Wall. The preposition in the verb παρτέτατο, as Mr Taylor points out, denotes simple *extension*.

§ 15. τοῦ Μηδείας τείχους] An examination of the theories which have been raised in regard to the identification of this wall would far exceed the compass of a note. I am therefore compelled to reserve it for consideration in a future Appendix. It is at any rate clear from the statement contained in II. 4. 12 (ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδείας καλούμενον τεῖχος καὶ παρήλθον αὐτοῦ εἰσω) that it was situated *below* Cunaxa, and that the Greek troops did not reach it till after they had left the battlefield and were marching across to the Tigris. The impression to the contrary may have arisen from the belief that the true site of the Wall had been discovered in *Sidd Nimrud*, an old embankment commencing in the neighbourhood of *Pylæ* and extending from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris* in a direction roughly parallel with that taken in all probability by the true Wall. Mr Taylor, who has bestowed great care on the investigation of the subject, inclines to the belief that the Median Wall took an easterly direction for a short distance after its junction with the *Euphrates*, and then turned sharply to the north till it reached the ancient bed of the *Tigris*. [For a modification of the above theory, see App. II.]

αὶ διώρυχες] Whatever may have been the direction of these canals, it is at any rate clear that, like the Median Wall, they lay *beyond* the

battle-field of Cunaxa: otherwise they would have formed in themselves a sufficient defence against the advancing army, and the artificial trench mentioned in the last section would have been a needless task. Accordingly, as the Greeks had not yet reached them in the course of their march, the word *ἐνθα* must be used by the author in the vaguest possible sense, or else must refer directly, as Mr Grote suggests, to the concluding portion of the last sentence: *μέχρι τοῦ Μηδείας τείχους*. Indeed he proposes to substitute a comma in place of the full stop after *τείχους*, which would definitely fix the meaning of the passage. According to this theory, the word *ἐνθα* will denote, with more or less exactitude, the point where the canals met the *Tigris* at their northern extremity, and where, in the opinion of some authorities, we are to place the termination of the Median Wall.

ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος...ρέουσαι] In his statement that these canals flow from the *Tigris*, and not from the *Euphrates*, Xenophon is at variance with all other authorities, ancient and modern, who have written on the subject. But, according to Ainsworth, 'this difficulty loses its force, when we consider that the alluvial plain between the two rivers is so level that it merely requires to alter the diagonal direction of a canal to determine which way its water shall flow, and thus the marsh of *al Hur* is flooded at one season by the *Tigris*, at another by the *Euphrates* through the *Isa* canal.' The same authority suggests that the canals mentioned by Xenophon may not be identical with those referred to by other writers but ones of minor importance, 'drawn from the marsh of *Accad* and the *Tigris*, above the canals of Babylon itself.'

διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη] A bold example of the construction known as 'partitive apposition.' The addition of the singular *ἐκάστη* to the plural verb suggests the idea of a number of things taken *seriatim*.

παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην] For the accusative see note on IV. 3. 1.

§ 17. *ὑποχωρούντων*] It is possible to explain this participle as in direct agreement with *ἱππῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων*. But, considering its position in the sentence, I much prefer to understand *αὐτῶν*, (i. e. the king and his troops), which may be readily supplied from *βασιλεὺς* in the previous clause. For the combination of the neuter plural *ἔχνη* with a plural verb, see note on I. 2. 23.

§ 18. *θυόμενος*] For the distinction in sense between the *active* and *middle* voice of the verb, see note on *θύσαντες* in IV. 6. 27. With the phrase *δέκα ἡμερῶν* compare *νυκτός*, 'in the night.' It is no doubt to be explained as a partitive use, denoting in the former case a definite period in the course of which something takes place, and in the latter a recognised but indefinite period, or a period often recurring.

εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις] *εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις*, Kühner. The external evidence is almost equally divided between the above readings, as the four leading MSS exhibit the double negative, while another of great authority omits the *μή*. But it can scarcely be questioned that the reading of the text, which is accepted by Vollbrecht, is the more forcible in connexion with the context, the negative being taken in close combination with *μαχεῖται*, and forming in fact a negative verb.

§ 19. *ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι*] 'had abandoned all idea of

fighting.' The verb ἀπέγνωκα in this connexion is borrowed from the poets, and is usually constructed with the accusative (as in *Heil.* VII. 5. 7) rather than the genitive.

§ 20. αὐτῷ] An ethic dative: 'while the main portion of his troops were marching in disorder.'

τῶν ὅπλων...πολλά...ἤγοντο] The recurrence of this construction after so short an interval is noteworthy, as forming a strong contrast with its rare and infrequent use by Thucydides, Demosthenes and the best writers of antiquity.

CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1—11. *The approach of the enemy. A description of the appearance and relative positions of the contending armies.*

ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πληθούσαν] i. e. between 10 and 12 o'clock. Dissen gives πρωΐ, πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς, μεσημβρία and δειλῇ as the four divisions of the Greek day. The last-named was on occasion further divided into πρωΐατα and ὀψία.

καταλύειν] 'to halt.' The accusative, which no doubt formed part of the original construction, would probably have been ἵππους or ὄνους rather than πορῆαν.

τῶν ἀμφὶ Κύρῳ πιστῶν] Mr Taylor illustrates the title from the opening chorus of the *Persæ* of Aeschylus:

τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων
'Ελλάδ' ἐς αἶαν Πιστὰ καλεῖται,

Compare too a later passage in the play (v. 677),

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἡλικές θ' ἥβης ἐμῆς.

§ 2. καὶ πάντες δέ] This use of δέ for δὴ has been explained in a note on I. 1. 2. Kühner quotes by way of illustration the following passage from *Cyrop.* I. 1. 2, καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βοῶν, καὶ οἱ ἵπποφορβοὶ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πάντες δέ οἱ καλούμενοι νομεῖς. The cases, however, are not quite parallel, as the nominative which follows καὶ πάντες δέ in the above quotation softens the abruptness of the phrase both in sound and sense.

§ 4. τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος] 'the right-hand extremity of the wing,' the wing or column in question being formed by the Greek troops who were marshalled in three divisions, commanded respectively by Clearchus, Proxenus and Meno.

ἐχόμενος] sc. τοῦ Κλεάρχου.

καὶ τὸ στράτευμα] 'and his forces.' We should certainly have expected the addition of the pronoun to qualify so general a word as στρατεύμα. Kühner however instances a somewhat similar omission in I. 10. 5, βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι.

§ 6. ἱππεῖς* τούτου] Kühner, οἱ ἱππεῖς τούτου Vollbrecht. In the latter case the reference will be to some special band of attendants. It is strange that none of the commentators should have objected to the

omission of the article before *τούτου*, where its presence is far more necessary than with *ἵπποις*. Indeed I cannot persuade myself that the text in its present form is at all satisfactory. After supplying *ἔστησαν* from the previous passage, the sense is still fragmentary and incomplete, and I am inclined to think that the word which governs *τούτου* (*ἐχόμενοι* in all probability) has fallen out of the text. The addition of this participle would make the passage complete both in sense and sound, and would remove the difficulty which is caused by the omission of the article with *τούτου*.

παραμηριδίοις] ‘cuisses.’ In the phrase *θώραξι μὲν αὐτοί*, the natural order would have been *αὐτοὶ μὲν θώραξι* in contrast with *οἱ δ’ ἵπποι πάντες* which follows. But examples of this displacement are common enough, and in the present instance it may have been done with a purpose, because there is a further contrast suggested between the two kinds of armour.

§ 8. *δείλη*] i. e. *δείλη πρωϊαία*, as may be inferred from a statement in I. 10. 19. Before *συχνῶ* Dindorf and some few of the editors would introduce the negative *οὐ*. But there is no manuscript authority for the addition, and, as Kühner suggests, the process described by the author would not be a speedy one.

§ 9. *ἐν πλασίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων*] ‘in a solid square.’ The addition of *ἕκαστον* with a partitive or distributive force has been explained in a note on *διαλείπουσιν ἑκάστη* (I. 7. 15). In the case before us the verb agrees with the nearer noun.

§ 10. **ἐλόντων καὶ διακοψόντων*]*] *ἐλόντα καὶ διακόψοντα*, Kühner, Vollbrecht and Dindorf by conjecture from *ἐλθόντα καὶ διακόψαντα* which appears in the four chief MSS. In support of this reading Kühner quotes from the corresponding passage in Plutarch (*Artax.* 7): *εὐ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔταξε τῶν δρεπανηφόρων τὰ ῥωμαλεώτατα πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγος, ὥς, πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι, διακόψοντα τὰς τάξεις βίᾳ τῆς εἰσελάσεως*. But this illustration, though decisive on the question of the verb (*ἐλαύνειν* instead of *ἐρχεσθαι*), lends no countenance to the construction, the difficulties of which are not found in the passage from which he quotes. On the other hand, in the case before us, the absolute use of the accusative participle in connexion with the clause *ἡ γνώμη ἦν* would be an instance of the *σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαίνόμενον* for which, I believe, no precedent could be found. Either the genitive, or perhaps the dative, of the participle would seem to be essential to the construction, and the former, which is preferred by the majority of the editors, is also more likely to have been displaced by the accusative in order to avoid a succession of similar terminations.

§ 11. *ὁ μέντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν*] ‘as regards however the statement of Cyrus.’ Cf. I. 7. 4.

The phrase *ὡς ἀνυστὸν* occurs again in Xenophon (*de Rep. Lac.* I. 3), who perhaps adopted it as more poetical than the ordinary expression *ὡς δυνατόν*. It is used also by Plutarch, who no doubt borrowed it from our author.

ἐν ἴσῳ] ‘in even line,’ or, it may be, ‘keeping step.’ The sentence is somewhat carelessly composed, as is clear from the entangled order of the words.

§§ 12—16. *Cyrus and Clearchus entertain different views as to the best arrangement of the Greek troops. The watchword.*

§ 13. ὁρῶν δὲ...ἀλλ' ὅμως] 'though he saw the dense mass in the centre...still in spite of this did not choose to draw off his right wing from the river.' Plutarch's comment on this excess of caution is as follows: αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν ὅπως ἔξει κάλλιστα, τὸ πᾶν διέφθειρεν (Plut. Artax. 5).

§ 14. συνετάττετο] 'was forming its line from the troops that were successively arriving on the field.' In connexion with the phrase οὐ πᾶν the student will remember that it may be either a mild or a strong negative ('quite not' or 'not quite'), according to the requirements of the context. In the present instance the majority of the editors combine it with the words which follow, in the sense of 'not very close to his own troops.' But we shall be more in accordance with the usage of Plato and the best authorities if we connect it in preference with the participle: 'riding a short distance along the line, (and halting) in the neighbourhood of his own troops.'

§ 15. ὑπελάσας] 'having ridden up to him.' In compound verbs the preposition ὑπὸ often denotes *secrecy* (cf. ὑπεληλυθέναι V. 2. 30), sometimes *abruptness* (e. g. in the phrase ὑποβαλὼν ἔφη), and sometimes, as in the present instance, the *goal* or *object* for which one is making. With the participle ἐπιστήσας supply τὸν ἵππον.

ἱερὰ...σφάγια] The former is usually the more general term (as in VI. 5. 21), denoting all that appertains to the sacrifice, and all the omens and tokens which are not directly derived from an examination of the victims (σφάγια). Elsewhere (as in IV. 3. 19) ἱερὰ is the more technical word for the reasons stated in the note.

§ 16. δεύτερον] Because the watchword, after it had travelled along the ranks, was then passed back again to ensure its future recognition. For θαυμάζειν in the sense of 'to express surprise,' 'to ask in wonder,' compare II. 1. 10, and a somewhat similar use of the compound ἐπιθαυμάζειν. In the change from παραγγέλλει to εἶη we have another remarkable transition from the direct to the indirect narration.

§§ 17—25. *At an early stage in the battle the left wing of the Persian army is routed by the Greeks. Artaxerxes endeavours to outflank the forces of Cyrus, who anticipates him by a successful charge on the troops which formed his guard.*

ἀλλὰ δέχομαι] 'well, I accept both watchword and omen.' For δέχομαι in this sense, cf. Aesch. Agam. 1653, δεχομένοις λεγεις θανεῖν σε, and Herod. IX. 91. Sometimes the accusative τὸν ὄρνιν or τὸν οἰωνὸν is added: but either would be out of place in the present passage, where the reference in the first instance is to the watchword.

ἔστω] i. e. τὸ σύνθημα, rather than σωτηρία καὶ νίκη, as Kühner suggests.

(ἵεναι)] The interpolation of this infinitive was no doubt the work of some copyist who referred προήρχοντο to προάρχεσθαι instead of προέρχεσθαι. Vollbrecht however retains it in his text on the authority of the four best mss, though, by reading προήρχον in place of προήρχοντο, they suggest the source of the corruption.

§ 18. ἐξεκύμαινε] 'began to undulate outwards.' Observe the

force of the preposition ἐκ, i.e. out of line. Mr Forbes in describing the recent battle of *Plevna* (July, 1877) draws a striking metaphor from the same source. The Russian line, he says, on receiving the fire of the batteries 'broke into a scattered spray of humanity.'

ἐλελίζουσι] Cf. v. 2. 14 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν... ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἠλάλαξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλῖται, from which it is clear that the verbs ἀλαλάζειν and ἐλελίζειν denote the simple war-cry, while the pæan was a formal prayer or else a thanksgiving for victory. Compare the comments of the scholiast on Thuc. i. 50.

§ 19. πρὶν δὲ τόξενμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι] 'but before an arrow reaches them,' i. e. before they come within range. Cf. iv. 3. 29, ἐπειδὴν σφενδόβη ἐξικνηῖται.

§ 20. ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν] Frequentative. Δίσταντο, 'parted to let them pass,' 'made way for them.'

καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι] 'and yet even he, they said, was uninjured.' The position of μέντοι is unusual, and also the combination οὐδ' ἄλλος δέ, of which the positive form (e. g. καὶ ἄλλος δέ) is common enough. Krüger however quotes an instance of the negative use from *Isacus* iii. 50, οἶμαι οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνον, οὐδ' ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα οὕτως εὐήθη γενέσθαι.

§ 21. τὸ καθ' αὐτοῦς] See note on τοὺς καθ' αὐτοῦς in v. 2. 21. The preposition is often used as in the present instance to denote what happens *at* (lit. over against) a person or thing.

ἥδει αὐτόν, ὅτι... ἔχοι] This form of attraction has been noticed in connexion with i. 1. 5.

§ 23. καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ] 'so too the Persian king.' The words καὶ... δὴ introduce a further illustration of the previous statement.

§ 25. οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι] In i. 9. 31, they are called συντράπεζοι. Compare also *Cyrop.* viii. 1. 30.

§§ 26—end. *The encounter between the brothers, and the death of Cyrus.*

καθορᾶ] The compound, as I have already noticed in connexion with iv. 3. 11, often denotes a chance or casual observation.

Κτησίας ὁ λατρός] Ctesias of Cnidus, though a Greek by birth, was for seventeen years a physician in the pay of Artaxerxes. He was the author of several works on medicine and geography, and, on his return home three years after the battle, wrote a history of Persia in twenty-three books. Plutarch, though he utilises the materials, speaks in disparaging terms of the author, who, to judge from his account of the present battle, was not careful to confine himself to facts.

§ 27. μαχόμενοι] Kühner objects to treating this participle as a nominative absolute, and prefers to connect it with ἀπέθνησκον, explaining the clauses which intervene as a species of partitive apposition, like those noticed in i. 7. 15, i. 8. 3, and elsewhere.

§ 29. ἐπισφάσθαι] 'that he slew himself with his own hand upon the corpse.'

The *acinaces* was a straight short sword, worn on the right side of the person in contrast with the Greek and Roman custom. It is mentioned in the *Cyrop.* viii. 2. 8, that permission to wear such decorations could be granted only by a king.

CHAPTER IX.

The character of Cyrus.

§ 1. *παρὰ πάντων*] ‘on the part of all,’ the preposition *παρὰ* denoting a less definite connexion than *ὑπό*, which is used in all the corresponding passages of the *Anabasis*. Compare Soph. *Trach.* 1160, where, if we accept the reading in its present form, the general and the definite preposition are combined in the same clause:

πρὸς τῶν πνεύντων μηδεὶς θανεῖν ὑπο.

§ 3. *ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις*] Cf. I. 2. 11.

§ 4. *εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες*] ‘from their very boyhood.’ In the sentence which follows, the legitimate order of the words (*πρῶτον μὲν αἰδημονέστατος*) is reversed for the purpose of emphasising the more important adjective.

§ 5. *μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι*] ‘more obedient to his seniors even than those who were his inferiors in rank.’

§ 6. *μέντοι*] ‘and that too in the chase of wild animals.’ Here again, as in § 20 of the last chapter, our author’s use of these particles is not quite in agreement with that of the best authorities.

ἔτρεπεν] A poetical word, and used by our author only in the present passage.

κατέκτανε] Kühner, *κατέκαυε* Vollbrecht and Dindorf. The form *κατέκτανε*, which is supported by the authority of all the chief mss, is likely to have been preferred by Xenophon as the more poetical form.

τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι β.] ‘yet notwithstanding.’ With the phrase *πολλοὺς μακαριστὸν* cf. I. 7. 41 *τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλούμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν.*

§ 8. *καὶ γὰρ οὖν*] A combination which is not very different in sense to that of *καὶ δὴ* in I. 8. 23, since either may be used to introduce an example or illustration: ‘and accordingly.’

ἐπιτρεπόμεναι] A strict middle: ‘placing themselves under his protection.’

§ 10. *ἐπεὶ...ἐγένετο*] The optative would have been the more regular mood, but cf. III. I. 26, *φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγει*. In the clause which follows, *μὲν* and *δὲ* are introduced to give greater emphasis to the two statements.

§ 11. *ἐξεφερον*] ‘divulged,’ ‘reported,’ as in V. 6. 17, 29, and again in Soph. *Trach.* 741,

οἱμοι, τίν' ἐξήνεγκας, ὦ τέκνον, λόγον;

δλεξόμενος] ‘in requital.’ Although, in strict correctness, the participle refers only to the second of the two alternatives (*τοὺς κακῶς ποιούντας*) it may easily be understood to include the former by the figure called *Zeugma*.

§ 12. *ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ*] ‘above all men.’ The phrase is especially common in poetry, e. g. in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1380,

κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ εἰς ἐν γε ταῖς Θήβαις τραφεῖς,

and again in *Trach.* 460,

πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἑρακλῆς ἔγημε δῆ.

In Latin we find *unus* employed in a similar sense: e.g. in Cic. *Tusc. disp.* III. 16. 34, *quae cogitatio una maximae molestias omnes extenuat.*

Some of the editors understand the particle γε in the present instance as limiting the comparison to *individuals* as distinguished from *communities*: but the same phrase occurs again in § 22, where the context suggests that it is simply a strengthened form of the poetic idiom.

§ 13. οὐ μὲν δῆ] The force of μὲν in these combinations is, as Kühner points out, almost equivalent to μήν: 'not, however, that any one could say this of him.'

στερουμένους] These forms of punishment are mentioned by Diod. Sic. (XVII. 69), Curtius (v. 5. 6) and many other historians.

†έφ† ὅ τι προχωροίη] The frequentative optative: 'on whatever business bound.' The MSS give ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη, which, by the duplication of ὅ τι, might easily have arisen from the reading suggested in the text. I have ventured with diffidence to make this alteration in the firm conviction that no intelligible meaning can be extracted from the passage as it ordinarily stands. The renderings which have been suggested as possible are as follows:

(i) by Kühner, 'if he was furnished with what was necessary for the journey';

(ii) by Schneider, 'if he had a good reason for proceeding on the journey';

(iii) by Mr Taylor, 'with whatever it suited him to carry.'

§ 14. ὡμολόγητο] Macmichael calls attention to the tense: 'before he commenced to punish vice, it *had been* acknowledged that he could appreciate and reward merit.'

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν] Kühner suggests that the subordinate clause ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλη is in fact the apodosis of this sentence, the protasis of which might be embodied in the following paraphrase: πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. But it is also possible that the author was intending to give some account of the campaigns of Cyrus, but, after mentioning one of them, fell back upon his favourite topic.

§ 15. εἶναι] The infinitive, it will be noticed, refers to εὐδαιμονεσ-τάτους no less than to δούλους.

§ 16. εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην] It is suggested by Macmichael, and I think with reason, that a certain contrast is intended between τοὺς εἰς πολεμον ἀγαθοὺς (§ 14) and τοὺς δίκαιους: 'still (though he honoured the brave) yet when it came to the question of justice,' etc.

§ 17. στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ] 'a genuine army,' i.e. an army in the true sense of the word, one which followed him from feelings of love and respect, and not from mercenary motives. Compare the expression καθαρὸς στρατὸς in Herod. I. 211.

§ 18. εἶασε] The aorist is frequentative to suit the force of the optative ὑπηρετήσειεν. The combination however is an unusual one: the aorist with ἀν, which occurs in the next section (ἀν ἀφέλετο), being the more common sequence. κράτιστοι δῆ, 'the very best.'

§ 19. κατασκευάζοντα] The legitimate use of the verb as distin-

guished from the compound παρασκευάζειν, the latter implying only *temporary* furniture or stock. The combination of *ἄν* with a past tense of the indicative in a frequentative sense has been noticed in connexion with I. 5. 2. In Soph. *Phil.* (289—295) we have one of the best examples in poetry:

πρὸς δὲ τοῦθ', ὃ μοι βάλσει
νευροσπαδῆς ἄτρακτος, αὐτὸς ἄν τάλας
εἰλυόμεν δύστηνον ἐξέλλκων πόδα
πρὸς τοῦτ' ἄν, κ.τ.λ.

ἐπέπατο] A Doric and poetical form, of which our author makes frequent use (e.g. in III. 3. 18, VI. 1. 12, VII. 6. 41). In place of *αὐ* some of the editors propose to read *ἄν*. If the reading be correct, a contrast is intended between the acquisition and the possession of wealth. τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων] 'who would fain secrete their wealth.'

§ 21. αὐτὸ τοῦτο] 'ob id ipsum' is Kühner's rendering, while other editors would understand ἐποίει out of the latter portion of the sentence. More probably it is an anticipatory accusative, in apposition with the sentences which follow and which serve to explain it. Tr. 'indeed, in respect to this very point,' etc. Thucydides, Plato and others make a similar use of the relative ὃ, e.g. in Thuc. II. 40, ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαρτία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.

§ 22. πάντων δὴ μάλιστα] It is open to question whether πάντων is a masculine or neuter genitive in the phrase before us. In the latter case, the meaning will be 'in preference to any other use of them': in the former, and I think the more probable one, it will be almost equivalent to εἰς γε ὧν ἀνὴρ above: 'he *more than any other man* was in the habit of distributing them to his friends.'

ὅτου] We must supply σκοπῶν (πρὸς ἐκεῖνο) ὅτου κ.τ.λ.

§ 23. ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον] The frequent recurrence of ὡς in phrases where it is almost, if not entirely, redundant has been previously noticed as a characteristic of Xenophon's style (cf. I. 5. 8). In the case before us it suggests the thought or intention in the mind of the giver: without it, the phrases εἰς πόλεμον...εἰς καλλωπισμὸν would denote the ordinary and recognised purposes of the gift.

κοσμηθῆναι] The passive is read by Kühner and Vollbrecht, while Schneider and other editors of note have adopted κοσμήσαι on the authority of a leading ms. The reading of the text is easily defensible, as the phrase τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα is a mere amplification of the leading nominative. It is moreover far more probable that κοσμηθῆναι should have been displaced by κοσμήσαι than *vice versa*.

Poppo takes exception to the introduction of *ἄν* with δύναιτο, but, as Kühner points out, the condition which it suggests is very easily supplied: 'if he were so disposed,' 'if he made the attempt,' or some similar idea.

§ 24. τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν] 'the fact that in favours of importance he surpassed his friends in kindly deeds.'

§ 25. σοὶ ἔπεμψε] Observe (1) the sudden transition to the direct narrative, and (2) the use of the aorist, which is equivalent in force to the epistolary tense in Latin. Tr. 'he sends (or 'has sent') to you.'

§ 27. εἴη...ἐδύνατο] The optative is frequentative and indefinite,

while the indicative points to a definite fact, independent of repetition or change.

§ 29. δούλου ὄντος] The phrase has been noticed in connexion with I. 7. 3.

πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε] This use of πλὴν in direct connexion with the verb is not infrequent, more especially in poetry. Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1466,

εὔ, πλὴν γ' ὁ δικαστὴς αὐτὰ καταπίνει μόνος,

and Soph. *Trach.* 41,

πλὴν ἐμοὶ πικρὰς
ὠδῖνας αὐτοῦ προσβαλὼν ἀποίχεται.

ὃν ᾤετο] The reference is to the messenger mentioned in I. 6. 3, ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσιν (Ὀρόντας) πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς ᾤετο.

φιλαίτερον] Kühner and Vollbrecht with the majority of the MSS, while Bornemann follows one of the best in reading φιλωτέρων. According to Kühner, the form φιλαίτατος occurs once in Xenophon (*Hell.* VII. 3. 8), φιλωτέρα also once (*Memor.* III. 11. 18), but never φιλτερος, though the corresponding superlative form is common.

§ 31. οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν] The accusative with παρὰ in this and similar phrases would seem to denote a vague or indefinite relation like that of ἀμφι and περὶ in similar connexions; indeed in several passages, including the present, Schneider would read the latter preposition in its place. It is important to remember that the usage is practically confined to Xenophon.

CHAPTER X.

§§ 1—3. *The Persians attack and defeat the troops of Ariacus, after which they plunder the camp. In another quarter they are themselves routed by the soldiers left in charge of the baggage.*

ἀποτέμνεται] It is clear from the account of Ctesias (§ 59,) that the mutilation was perpetrated in accordance with the king's instructions, though not apparently by his own hand.

εἰσπίπτει] The singular verb is strange, but easily explicable on the supposition that it is accommodated to suit the more important of the two substantives, i. e. the King as the representative of his followers. Cf. Thuc. IV. 73, τῷ μὲν Βρασίδῃ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν...ὡς ἐπικρατήσαντι.

ᾤρμητο] I have followed Vollbrecht in editing ᾤρμητο, as more in keeping with the sense of the context. Kühner however prefers the imperfect, which unquestionably rests on better manuscript authority and may perhaps be defended as a reference to the time of their departure: 'from which (at the time in question) they set forth.'

§ 2. τὴν Φωκαῖδα] Her name, which was originally Milto, was changed by Cyrus to Aspasia.

§ 3. ἡ νεωτέρα] 'the younger of the two.' The article would appear to be perfectly grammatical in this connexion, though Kühner, I

see, objects to it, and mentions with approval the suggestion of Bornemann: *Μιλησία, ἡ νεωτέρα ἦν, ληφθεῖσα*. The epithet *γυμνός* means simply 'without the mantle (*ἱμάτιον*),' like *nudus* in Verg. *Georg.* I. 299. Krüger quotes in illustration Dem. *Meid.* 59. § 583, *γυμνὸν ἐν τῷ χιτῶνίσκῳ γενέσθαι*.

πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων] i.e. *ἐκφεύγει πρὸς (τούτους) τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον κ.τ.λ.*, the combined phrase *οἱ ἔτυχον... ὅπλα ἔχοντες* taking the place of an accusative substantive. The above is Kühner's interpretation, who notwithstanding characterises the construction as 'durum.' It may be preferable to supply *χώραν*, if we are to accept the text as it stands, and if *πρὸς* with the genitive cannot be wrested from its legitimate sense as denoting the quarter *from which* the motion commences. It is true that in two passages of the *Anabasis* (II. 2. 4, and IV. 3. 26) it is scarcely possible to render *πρὸς* with the genitive otherwise than by 'towards,' 'in the quarter of,' but in both of these the direction suggested is a comparatively vague and indefinite one.

ὅπλα ἔχοντες] Equivalent to the Latin *excubias agentes*, 'on guard.'

§§ 4—9. *A second engagement is expected, but declined by the Persians. The meeting of Tissaphernes and the King. The two armies dispose themselves for a fresh encounter.*

τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς] See note on I. 8. 21.

ὥς πάντας νικῶντες... ὥς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες] The meaning of the passage is clear, but the construction is a careless one, as the verbal parallelism suggests an antithesis which is not complete in sense.

§ 5. *νικῶν... καὶ... οἱ ἔχονται*] The abruptness of this transition to the direct from the indirect is without parallel even in the present author. In IV. 5. 10, and again in V. 5. 24, we have almost similar passages, but in both these cases the introduction of *ἀλλὰ* modifies the change.

§ 6. *παρήλθεν*] 'he had come up.' The verb *παρέρχεσθαι* is often used in this sense, e. g. in Dem. *Bocot.* *περὶ ὀνομ.* § 999, *παρήλθον ἐς Ταμύνας οἱ ἄλλοι*, 'the army went to the front to Tamynae.'

τοὺς... κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομ.] These deserters are mentioned again in II. 1. 6.

In this and the succeeding sentence we have two remarkable uses of the preposition *κατά*. Kühner suggests that 'ad' is the nearest Latin equivalent, comparing *Cyrop.* VII. 1. 15, *ὥς δὲ παρὶων κατὰ Ἀβραδάταν ἐγένετο*. I venture however to think that *apud* more nearly represents its meaning both in the passage before us and in the one to which he refers, which I propose to render as follows:

(i) *τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας*, 'those who had deserted during the battle in the quarters where they faced the Greek troops;' i. e. avoiding the Persian troops of Cyrus, the men deserted only when they were in the proximity of the Greek lines.

(ii) *διήλασε... κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστάς*, 'rode through (their ranks) in the quarter where the peltasts were stationed;'

(iii) *ὥς δὲ παρὶων κατὰ Ἀβραδάταν ἐγένετο*, 'as in riding past he came to a spot just over against Abradatas.'

§ 7. *φρόνιμος γενέσθαι*] His discretion was shewn in avoiding an actual encounter without abandoning his assaults on the foe.

§ 9. *κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας*] This, which was originally the left

wing of the Greek troops, had now become their right. Observe the employment of the poetic verbs περιπτύξαντες and ἀναπτύσσειν. Ποιήσασθαι ὀπισθεν, 'to place in their rear.'

§§ 10—end. *The second victory of the Greeks. At sunset they return to their camp to find it plundered.*

καὶ δὴ] These words introduce the apodosis of the sentence, the order of which is as follows: κατέστησεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα... ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος συνήει. The participle παραμειψάμενος illustrates the position of the Persians in 1. 8. 13, τοῦ εὐωνύμου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔξω ὄντα.

§ 11. ἐκ πλεόνος] 'at a longer distance,' i. e. with a greater start.

μέχρι κώμης τινός] Possibly *Cunaxa* itself, the actual position of which has not been identified. According to Plutarch it was situated about 500 stadia from Babylon, and recent explorations have tended to fix it at a place now called *Kūniaseh*, which accords well with the distances mentioned by Xenophon and with the physical characteristics which he ascribes to the locality. The plains of Babylon are destitute of natural hills, and, accordingly, γήλοφος in the following sentence is understood by Ainsworth to signify an artificial mound.

§ 12. ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν] 'so that the Greeks could not discover what was in progress (behind the hill).'

(ἐπὶ ξύλου)] All the best MSS without exception contain these words, which, if genuine, can only be interpreted as follows: 'a golden eagle upon a shield, (resting) with outstretched wings upon a staff.' Kühner rejects them in their present form, on the assumption that they were added to explain πέλτη, which, according to Suidas and Hesychius, is an equivalent for δόρυ or ἀκόντιον. Cf. *Cyrop.* VII. 1. 4, where the royal standard of Persia is described as ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δοράτος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. At the same time he mentions with approval the conjecture of Hutchinson: ἐπὶ πέλτης ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ, which is to a certain extent confirmed by the authority of Suidas, who remarks that the word ξυστὸν is used in this particular connexion by Arrian and other writers. Vollbrecht edits ἐπὶ πέλτη ἐπὶ ξύλου.

NOTES.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

Κύρῳ] An ethic dative, for which see note on οὔτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο (I. 2. 4). The substantive ἀνδρῶς is a poetic equivalent for the more usual ἀναβάσει.

§§ 2, 3. *The generals meet at daybreak, and, in their ignorance of the death of Cyrus, pass a resolution to join him. As they are on the point of starting, Glus and Procles arrive at the camp with the news of Cyrus' death and the flight of Ariacus.*

ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν] For this transition from the indirect narration (ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν) to the direct, see note on εἰ μὴ βούλεται (I. 3. 14), and the passages quoted in illustration. The verb συσκενάζεσθαι (*vasa colligere*) occurs in the same section (I. 3. 14).

ἕως...συμμιζείαν] The optative, which is accommodated to the oblique narration, denotes the *purpose*.

§ 3. ἐν ὀρμῇ] Lit. 'on the start'. For the omission of the pronoun with ὄντων, compare προΐδντων (I. 2. 17), where, as in the present instance, the context leaves no doubt as to the subject of the participle.

Τευθρανίας] This was the name of a town and district in Mysia, situated on the banks of the river *Caicus*, and distant about seventy stades from *Atarneus* and *Pergamus*. For the circumstances under which *Teuthrania* and *Halisarna* were bestowed on Demaratus by Darius Hystaspis, to whose court he retired after a quarrel with his colleague Cleomenes in BC 491, cf. Herod. vi. 67 sqq., and Paus. iii. 7. 7.

γεγονώς ἀπὸ] 'a descendant of Demaratus'. The connecting particle is frequently omitted with the demonstrative pronoun (cf. τοῦτῳ συγγενόμενος, I. 1. 9), when the passage, which the pronoun introduces, is explanatory of a previous statement.

τέθνηκεν...εἴη] Observe the change of mood from the indicative, which marks the death of Cyrus as an independent fact, to the optative, which implies that the subsequent statements are dependent on the impressions of the narrator.

πεφευγώς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἴη] = πεφευγώς (εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν) ἐν τῷ σταθ-

μῶ εἴη, a pregnant form of expression which has been noticed and illustrated in connexion with the following phrases: τῶν παρὰ βασιλείως (I. 1. 5), κλέπτεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας (III. 6. 11), and οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφενγον (V. 2. 3).

ὠρμῶντο] In place of ὠρμῶντο Vollbrecht and Schneider edit ὠρμηντο. The same question is raised in connexion with the concluding sentence of I. 10. 1, where I have given my reasons for retaining the imperfect in both cases on the authority of Kühner and the leading MSS.

τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ] 'on the following day', with which compare III. 4. 1, μέιναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο.

§§ 4—6. *At the instigation of Clearchus a deputation is sent to Ariaeus with offers to place him on the throne. The Greek troops are hard pressed by the want of provisions and firewood.*

ἀκούσαντες...πυνθανόμενοι] The inferior MSS give ἀκούοντες in place of the aorist participle and omit πυνθανόμενοι, the course of the corruption being clearly as follows:—ἀκούσαντες having been replaced by ἀκούοντες in the attempt to make the participles coincide, it was quickly discovered that ἀκούοντες and πυνθανόμενοι were virtually tautologous. The reading of the text, as Kühner suggests, marks the difference between the direct information received by the generals, and its gradual dissemination through the ranks of the army.

ἀλλ' ὥφελε...ζῆν] Mr Taylor compares from Ovid 'debuerant fusos evoluisse suos'. The same use of ἀλλά appears elsewhere, e.g. in I. 7. 6 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος· ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ πατρῴα κ.τ.λ., where the adversative force of ἀλλά is directed against a feeling not openly expressed but existing in the mind of the speaker.

ἦλθετε ..ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν] 'had you not come, we should by this time have been on our way'. This variation in the usual sequence of tenses (for which see note on πλείους συνελέγησαν, IV. 1. 11) is quite in accordance with the sense of the passage. Sometimes the change is still more marked, and we find the *Protasis* of one form combined with the *Apodosis* of another, e.g. in the following sentence: πορευόμεθα δ' οἴκαδε εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ (II. 3. 23).

καθίσειν] καθιῆν Vollbrecht and Schneider, but the manuscript authority is in favour of the rarer form, which is preferred by Bornemann, Kühner and others as quite in accordance with Xenophon's usage, who adopts it in the case of other verbs of the same class, e.g. νομίσει, ἀποκομίσει etc.

§ 6. οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο] Muretus objects with reason to the structure of this sentence owing to the absence of the connecting particle. No doubt, as Kühner suggests, the article takes the place of the demonstrative, so far as the sense of the passage is concerned, but in so emphatic a position it can scarcely represent it in sound and rhythm without the addition of a particle. I should therefore prefer to read as follows: καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο.

τὸ δὲ στράτευμα...κόπτοντες] With this example of the construction κατὰ σύνεσιν we may compare amongst others IV. 8. 18, τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἡρχε Κλεάνωρ. In like manner a noun of multitude is often combined with an adjective in the plural.

ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες] i.e. λαβύντες ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, which is preferable to connecting the words ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων with ἐπορίζετο which precedes. Note the wide application of the substantive σῖτος.

ξύλοις] A predicate, 'they used for firewood', while the substantive φάλαγγος is apparently equivalent to *acies* 'the field of battle', i.e. the place where the main body of the troops were posted.

ἡνάγκαζον] The tense throws back the action of the verb to the time described in I. 10. 6. We have already noticed this use of the imperfect in connexion with a disputed reading (ὠρῶντο or ὠρηντο) in § 3. ἐκβάλλειν, which Spellman strangely renders 'to pull out of the ground', is of course 'to empty out of their quivers'.

γέρροισι] The γέρρον was an oblong shield of wicker-work, protected by a covering of oxhide. It was largely used by the Persian soldiers, although Xenophon (in the *Cyrop.* VII. 1. 33) describes the long Egyptian shields (ποθήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν, I. 8. 9) as far more serviceable whether for clearing a path or for the protection of the person.

πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι] The combination is a strange one, and has led to the suggestion that πέλτη in this passage is equivalent to ξυστόν (cf. I. 10. 12), i.e. a projecting part of the chariot to which the standard was attached. But, as Mr Taylor notices, it is little likely that Xenophon would have used an ordinary word in so unusual a sense without adding some explanation.

ἐρημοί] 'ownerless', 'abandoned'. The adjective refers to πέλται no less than to ἄμαξαι, and, as it appears to me, in the same sense. Kühner, however, regards the construction as a species of ζεύγμα, by which the shields are described as 'ownerless', and the waggons as 'empty', 'deprived of their contents'.

φέρεσθαι] Epexegetic. It is a poetical construction, more especially common in Homer, and equivalent in force to the Latin supine in *u*. Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 637, where however the exact force of the verb is open to doubt:—

ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀξίως ἔσται (al. ἀξιώσεται) γάμος
μείζων φέρεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

The word κρέα is emphatic for the reason noticed in connexion with I. 5. 6.

§§ 7—9. *Envoys from the Persian king arrive at the camp, and demand from the Greeks the surrender of their arms. Clearchus answers with a refusal, and then leaves his colleagues to continue the negotiations while he retires to conduct a sacrifice.*

περὶ πλῆθουςαν ἀγοράν] i.e. between 10 and 12 o'clock. Cf. I. 8. 1.

οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ἣν δ' αὐτῶν] This slight divergence from the regular construction may have been adopted intentionally with the object of emphasizing the latter clause in the sentence. Compare a somewhat similar device in the concluding passage of I. 9. 5. On the strength of this statement Plutarch rejects the account of the physician Ctesias, who says that he was himself present at the interview. But the word εἰς is not unfrequently employed by Xenophon as a simple equivalent for *τις*, with which compare a later use of the Latin *quis* (Catul. XXII. 10);

or again it is possible, as Mr Taylor suggests, that the present passage deals only with those who actually took part in the debate.

ὀπλομαχίαν] From *Cyrop.* VII. 1. 33 and other passages it is clear that the skill of the Persian troops lay chiefly in the use of missiles.

§ 8. εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν] The phrase occurs again in VII. 1. 31, ἦν μὲν δυνώμεθα παρ' ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν τι εὐρίσκεσθαι, a fact which scarcely bears out Mr Taylor's suggestion that the invitation is an ironical one in the present instance.

§ 9. ἔχετε] = *scitis*, with which compare the use of *tenere* in Latin. In the clause which follows, observe the special force of the verb ἤκειν, 'I will be here (i.e. I will be back again) anon'.

ἐξηρημένα] 'to inspect the entrails when they had been taken out of the victim'. The employment of the word *ισρά* in this connexion favours the supposition that σφάγια is the general and less technical term. For the force of the middle *θυρόμενος*, see notes on I. 7. 18, and IV. 6. 27.

§§ 10—14. *The debate is continued by Phalinus on the part of the Persians, and by Cleanor, Proxenus and Theopompus on the part of the Greeks.*

παραδόλῃσαν] This rare form of the optative is retained by Vollbrecht, Kühner and Dindorf on the authority of the four leading MSS. Macmichael edits παραδοῖεν.

θαυμάζω] 'I ask in wonder whether it is in the character of conqueror that the king demands from us our arms, or rather as presents on the score of friendship'.

καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα] So Vollbrecht, Kühner and Macmichael after three of the chief MSS in place of ἀλλ' οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα which also rests on good authority. The adversative force in ἀλλὰ would be justified by the interrogation in the previous clause, and by a precisely similar passage which Kühner quotes from *Cyrop.* II. 2. 19, καὶ τί δεῖ... ἐμβαλεῖν λόγον περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ προειπεῖν ὅτι οὕτω ποιήσεις;

§ 11. αὐτῷ] Kühner, Krüger, Macmichael and others would take αὐτῷ in close connexion with ἀντιποιεῖται, while Mr Taylor refers it primarily, if not solely, to the earlier portion of the sentence: 'for whom has he left to contest his claim to the sovereignty?' The rhythm of the sentence appears to me decisive in favour of the latter view.

παρέχοιεν] Of the four leading MSS one only gives παρέχοι ὑμῖν, the remainder exhibit the reading of the text, which is preferred by Kühner, Bornemann, Macmichael and the majority of the editors. The intransitive use of παρέχειν in the sense of to 'permit' 'give the chance' is not unfrequent. Cf. *Memor.* I. 2. 54, καὶ τοῖς ἱατροῖς παρέχουσι μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνων καὶ ἀποτέμνειν καὶ ἀποκάειν, and a well-known passage in *Soph. Ai.* II 45,

ἀλλ' ὑφ' εἰμῆτος κρυφῆς
πατεῖν παρῆχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτῶν.

§ 12. Θεόπομπος] He is not mentioned elsewhere in the *Anabasis*, and the inferior MSS give Ξενοφῶν in place of Θεόπομπος in the present passage. But Kühner, Schneider, Poppo and Dindorf are agreed in following the four leading MSS; add to which the reading of the text is ably supported by Weiske, who argues that the position held by

Xenophon in the camp (cf. III. 1. 4) was not such as to have entitled him to speak at a council of the generals. On the other hand Krüger conjectures that the original passage may have stood thus: *Θεόπομπος δὲ Πρόξενον τοῦτο εἰπεῖν φησι*, arguing from the fact that the words in question are attributed to Proxenus by Diodorus (XIV. 25). Mr Taylor notices that the speech is quoted as Xenophon's by Lord Bacon (*Adv. of Learning*, I. 7. 30).

οἴμεθα ἂν] For this position of ἂν in the sentence after verbs like *οἶμαι*, *δοκεῖ* etc., cf. V. 6. 1, and I. 3. 6. Its juxtaposition with *παραδόντες* is accounted for by the fact that the participle represents a condition. See note on *ταύτη προσποιοῦμενοι* (IV. 6. 13).

παραδῶσειν] *sub.* ἡμᾶς, which is naturally suggested by ὑμῖν. It is strange that none of the editors should have called attention to the irregular use of the preposition in the phrase *σὺν τούτοις* (i.e. *τοῖς ὅλοις*), by which the neuter ὕπλα is, as it were, personified, 'by the favour of these', 'with these on our side'. Cf. *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς* and similar phrases.

§ 13. *νεανίσκε*] The term is apparently confined to persons who are between the ages of twenty-three and forty-one, and its employment here would have assisted us in determining the age of Xenophon at the present time, if the occurrence of his name in the previous section could have been placed beyond doubt.

λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα] 'you talk pleasantly enough'. The same quiet irony appears constantly in Plato's use of the adjective.

§ 14. *ὑπομαλακισμένους*] 'with symptoms of fear'. Cf. *ὑπέφαινε* (II. 4. 7).

ἄλλο τι...χρῆσθαι] For this accusative with *χρῆσθαι*, see note on *ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον, τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι* (I. 3. 18).

ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον] The Egyptians had revolted from the Persian sway towards the close of the reign of Darius, and were establishing themselves as an independent nation with Psammetichus for their king (Diod. Sic. XIV. 35). Kühner unquestionably offers the right explanation of this construction, viz. that the words *συγκαταστρέψαντ' ἂν*, which in their primary sense are accommodated to the clause *ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν*, are also to be referred by *ζευγμα* to the earlier portion of the sentence (*ἄλλο τι...χρῆσθαι*). Trans. 'should he wish to use their services for a campaign against Egypt or for any other purpose, they would aid him in his schemes of conquest'. I prefer however to print a colon in place of the comma which in his text follows *γενέσθαι*. A noticeable feature in the construction of this sentence is the subordinate position of the words *ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν*, notwithstanding they represent the leading idea of the sentence. In cases where this order is adopted, either for the sake of rhythm or otherwise, it is usual to find the more important of the two clauses emphasized by the introduction of *οὖν* or some corresponding equivalent: e.g. *εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν*.

§§ 15—18. *Clearchus re-appears, and appeals to Phalinus as a Greek to advise his countrymen for the best.*

ὑπολαβών] For the various significations of this participle, see note on I. 1. 7.

οὗτοι...ἄλλος ἄλλα] A species of partitive apposition, for a bolder

form of which cf. I. 7. 15, εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν 'Ευφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη παρασάγγην. Compare also I. 8. 9 and I. 8. 27. A similar construction is found in Latin, e.g. in Tac. *Ann.* III. 40, *componunt, Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos, concire.*

§ 16. οἶμαι δέ] The verb is used parenthetically in place of the more ordinary phrase δοκεῖ μοι or some equivalent. A precisely similar construction occurs in V. 8. 22 (οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους), but another passage in the same book (δοκοῦσι δέ μοι . . ἀπῆλθον, V. 8. 13), which Kühner quotes as analogous, appears to me to stand on a different footing for the reasons mentioned in the note.

συμβουλευόμεθα] 'we ask your advice'. Two theories have been suggested to account for the primary sense of the middle voice, one of which assumes that the literal force of συμβουλευόμεαι, διδάσκομαι and similar verbs is 'I get advice, instruction *giver*', while according to the other the true scope of the middle is to express the interest of the agent in the action of the verb; e.g. συμβουλευόμεαι will mean 'I consult with you *for myself*', i.e. for my own interests. Of late, scholars have agreed to describe the above and other uses of the middle as so many varieties of reflexive action.

§ 17. ἀναλεγόμενον] 'when you reflect upon it', 'when you review it in thought', the accusative taking the place of the more grammatical dative by a construction of which we have had repeated examples, e.g. θωρασκισθέντα (III. 4. 35) and a passage in § 19 of the present chapter: εἰ μὲν ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστί σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ. The majority of the editors, including Mr Taylor, regard ἀναλεγόμενον as a passive participle in apposition with the relative ὃ, but this use of the verb is rare and apparently unclassical. Consequently I much prefer to understand it as a middle, a form in which it not unfrequently appears as an equivalent for ἀναλογιζόμενον, i.e. 'which will be creditable to you when you reflect on it hereafter'. Kühner apparently suspects the correctness of the text, and mentions with approval the following emendation, which has further received the sanction of Dindorf: εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον πάντα λεγόμενον. Less probable suggestions are (i) ἀναγγελλόμενον, (ii) ἀεὶ λεγόμενον, which is ingenious, and (iii) ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα λεγόμενον.

§ 18. ὑπήγετο] An equivalent for ὑπετίθετο, 'made these suggestions *with a purpose*'. The verb occurs with the same force a little later on in the present book (4. 3), καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται (βασιλεὺς) μένειν. Compare the use of the similar verb ὑφηγεῖσθαι in the sense of 'praeire verbis'. Another, but less simple, explanation is proposed by some of the editors, who, retaining the primary sense of the verb, would understand ταῦτα as the indirect accusative, in which case the phrase ταῦτα ὑπήγετο would be equivalent to ταῦτα λέγων ὑπήγετο, 'was for giving him his clue *in this way*'.

ὑποστρέψας] 'doubling', 'rounding upon him' is the literal rendering, and so, by consequence, 'having evaded the attack'. The participle is similarly used in Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 362,

καθ' ὑποστρέψας λέληψαι μεταβαλὼν ἄλλας γραφάς.

§ 19. *Phalinius counsels submission.*

τῶν μυρίων] The article is employed because μυρίων is the recognised numeral in such cases.

§§ 20—end. *After some further expressions of opinion Phalinus returns to the King without having obtained from Clearchus a direct declaration of his purpose.*

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν] ‘well, here in fine we have your opinion’. This force of ἀλλά, with the antagonism which it implies in the mind of the speaker, has been noticed in connexion with § 5.

§ 21. μενεῖτε...εἰσιν. The tense is purposely changed to give additional force to the second verb: ‘will ye stay and is there to be peace?’ In the succeeding clause, παρ’ ὑμῶν is intentionally placed where it may do duty both with what precedes (ὡς πολέμου δυτος) and with what follows (ἀπαγγελῶ). For the combination of ὡς with the participle, ‘on the understanding that it is to be war’, see notes on ὡς ἀποκτενῶν (I. I. 3), and ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος (I. I. 6).

§ 22. ἀπεκριθῇ] An unclassical form, used by the author of *Alcib.* II. 149 A, and by Polybius, Diodorus and other late writers. In the present instance it appears in the four leading MSS: the inferior ones give ἀπεκρίνατο. The occurrence of the more usual tense in the following section is (as Kühner suggests) an argument for reading ἀπεκρίθῃ in the present case, as Xenophon was notoriously fond of varying his forms of expression.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—2. *Phalinus and his party having departed, messengers arrive from Ariæus, announcing that he declines the offer of the Persian throne, and asking Clearchus and his followers to join him in his retreat. Their answer is again ambiguous.*

οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου] See note on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως (I. I. 5). The departure of the original deputation is mentioned above in II. I. 5.

οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι] ‘would not tolerate him for their king’. As regards the construction, the infinitive takes the place of the optative when the relative clause stands in the oblique narration. Compare an exactly similar passage in v. 7. 18, ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν, ἔφασαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαι τε αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ. After the verb ἀνασχέσθαι we might have expected an accusative rather than a genitive, though both constructions are admissible. The genitive may be due, as Mr Taylor suggests, to the primary meaning of the verb (‘would not hold off from him’), though more probably αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος is to be taken independently as a genitive absolute.

εἰ βούλεσθε] Cf. ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται for ὅτι οὐ δυνήσοιτο in I. 3. 2. The change to the direct narrative emphasizes the message by reporting it in the original words.

αὐτός] ‘by himself’, ‘alone’.

§ 2. ἐὰν μὲν ἤκωμεν] By printing a comma instead of a colon after the infinitive ποιεῖν all the difficulties of the passage are removed without the necessity of understanding an apodosis. Tr. ‘well, we must act as you propose, on the supposition that we come: if not, you must consult

your own interests'. Kühner (who is followed by the other editors) retains the colon after ποιεῖν, but without any comment on the *aprosiopesis* which this involves, and which may be either εἰεν 'well and good', or else χρὴ ποιεῖν, or again a verb like συνάπικμεν to be supplied from συναπιέναι above. But any such explanation of the sentence is rendered extremely awkward by the introduction of the words ὥσπερ λέγετε, for which reason I much prefer the simpler punctuation of the text.

§§ 3—5. *Cleararchus, who is recognised by tacit consent as the leader of the moment, advises the troops to fall back and effect a junction with the friends of Cyrus.*

λέναι] There is considerable doubt whether the infinitive follows θυομένῳ or ἐρίγνετο, Buttmann adopting the former view which is certainly recommended by the rhythm of the sentence, while the latter has the sanction of Kühner and the majority of the editors. Out of the five instances quoted by Kühner in support of his theory only one is at all conclusive (VI. 6. 36, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει γενέσθαι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν), the adjective καλὰ being either expressed or implied in all the other passages to which he refers (e.g. by the use of the verb καλλιτερεῖν in Herod. VI. 76, IX. 38). Indeed the introduction of καλὰ in the final clause of the section is to a certain extent in favour of the counter theory. However, as both constructions are apparently admissible, I incline to the belief that the words λέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα are intentionally placed (like παρ' ὑμῶν in II. I. 21) where they may do double duty. Tr. 'when I was sacrificing for permission to march against the king the sacred tokens that I might do so were not forthcoming'. For the popular explanation (viz. that we are to understand καλὰ with ἐρίγνετο) there is not the smallest fragment of evidence.

ναυσίπορος] The position of the adjective, which should mark it as a predicate, has not been noticed by the commentators. Here it stands for ναυσίπορος ὢν, and its emphatic position is accounted for by the explanatory clause which follows.

§ 4. σημήνη] For the omission of the subject, see note on ἐσάλπιγξε (I. 2. 17). The phrase ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι must be carefully distinguished from others in which the word ὡς is partially, if not altogether, redundant (cf. ἡ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, I. 9. 23). In the present case it is added to shew that the verb ἀναπαύεσθαι does not represent the *true* meaning of the signal.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ] ἐπὶ with the dative denotes a quicker and more direct sequence than μετὰ with the accusative and other combinations. The same succession of signals appears in Polybius (VI. 40. 2) in reference to the same manœuvres.

τῷ ἡγουμενῳ] is probably a neuter in the sense of the 'van-guard'. Cf. τὸ ὑπερβάλλον (IV. I. 8). The phrase πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, 'on the side near the river', occurs in IV. 3. 26 and elsewhere. According to Kühner, we are to supply the words τοῦ ποταμοῦ after ἔξω. But surely 'on the outer side' (i.e. beyond them) is the true rendering, as the object of the manœuvre was to utilize the river for their protection on the one side, while the other was guarded by the hoplites.

§ 6. *A summary of their marches up to the present time.*

σταθμοὶ...στάδιοι] The whole of this section is rejected by Krüger

as out of keeping with the summary given in I. 2. 5, which estimates the number of stadia at 15,510 against the 16,050 mentioned in the passage before us. The majority of the editors prefer to retain it, offering various suggestions to account for the discrepancy; e.g. that the distance from *Ephesus* to *Sardes* was *four* days' journey instead of the *three* at which it is placed by Herodotus (*Koch*), that a period of three days is not accounted for in the march between *Keramon Agora* and *Caystri Campus* (*Rennell*), that the time spent on the passage of the *Cilician Gates* or on the road between *Dana* and *Tarsus* was understated in the narrative (*Mr Taylor*).

τῆς μάχης] 'the battle-field'. Plutarch however estimates the distance between *Cunaxa* and *Sardes* at about 500 stadia (*Artax.* 8).

§ 7. *The defection of Miltochythes.*

εἰς τετταράκοντα] In other words, their entire force of cavalry.

§§ 8, 9. *The remainder of the troops effect a junction with Ariaeus and his friends. A league is formed between them for their mutual protection.*

κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα] 'following out the directions he had given', (cf. § 4). The phrase ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας has been noticed in connexion with I. 7. 1.

θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα] For the various meanings of the phrase, see note on IV. 2. 16. Its employment in the present instance denotes that the Greeks were as yet undecided whether they should treat *Ariaeus* and his followers as friends or foes. As regards the construction, *Kühner* suggests that we should understand it as a species of partitive apposition, for which see note on οὗτοι... ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει (II. 1. 15), but I cannot regard this explanation as pertinent to the present case, as the conditions are here entirely altered by the omission of the main subject. More probably, the participle is a nominative absolute, agreeing with οἱ στρατιῶται or οἱ Ἕλληνες, either of which may readily be supplied κατὰ σύνεσιν from the opening words of the section (*Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγήετο... οἱ δ' εἵποντο*). An alternative explanation is possible by which the nominatives στρατηγοὶ and λοχαγοὶ are made to do double duty, i.e. in a general sense with θέμενοι as an equivalent for οἱ στρατιῶται, and afterwards with ξυνήλθον in their restricted application. If the phrase ὄπλα θέσθαι were less entirely idiomatic, we need look no further for an explanation of the construction than the one proposed by *Macmichael*: 'the generals and captains, having drawn up their men under arms, went in together'.

§ 9. σφάζαντες... εἰς ἀσπίδα] For this pregnant construction, cf. ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν (IV. 3. 18). According to Plutarch, the sacrifice of a wolf was an essential feature in the Persian rite, apparently because it was the creature and emblem of the Power of Darkness. Cf. τὸν Ἀἰδὸν ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἴτα μίξαντες (ποῶν τινα) αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος... ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. (Plut. *Is. et Osir.* II. 369.) In the Greek and Roman ceremonial only the other animals were offered. When we consider the constant change that is in progress among the Fauna of particular districts, we need scarcely concern ourselves with a difficulty raised by *Koch* on the ground that the wolf is not found in *Babylonia*.

βάπτοντες ξίφος] Cf. Herod. iv. 70, where it is mentioned as a Scythian custom.

§§ 10—12. *The advice of Ariaeus.*

§ 11. ἀπιόντες] The participle represents the condition: 'should we return'. See note on ἐρημος ὧν (I. 3. 6).

σταθμῶν] 'in the course of the last seventeen stages'. A partitive use of the genitive, with which compare νυκτός 'at a given period in the night'. In the former phrase however the reference is to a definite period, in the latter to an indefinite or recurring one.

ἐνθα δ' εἴ τι ἦν] ἐνθα δέ τι ἦν, *Schneider*, 'in places where there was anything', a reading which loses the force of the contrast, and is injurious to the rhythm of the sentence by the emphasis which it throws on the unimportant word τι.

κατεδαπανήσαμεν] 'we used it all up'. For the force of the preposition in this and similar compounds, see note on καθήδυναθεῖν (I. 3. 3). Occasionally it acts as a simple intensitive: more frequently it implies that the mode or purpose of the action is a bad one; e.g. in καταχρησθαι, καταφθεῖρειν, καταπροδύναι, etc.

μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ'...οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν] ἀπορησομένην is suggested by Weiske in place of ἀπορήσομεν, and, if the phrase ὁδὸς ἀπορησομένη were an admissible one, which it isn't, the alteration would restore the balance of the clauses. But the irregularity in the apodosis is not unusual, and may have been intentional in the present instance so as to render the latter clause the more emphatic of the two.

§ 12. ἀποσπασθῶμεν] Poetical: 'that we may draw away from'. Macmichael aptly compares the use of *divellimur* in Verg. *Aen.* II. 434.

The verb occurs in a similar sense in VII 3. 41, ἀποσπασθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ, while in I. 5. 3 (πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα φείγουσα), and again in VII. 2. 11 (Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας), we have the active voice used apparently with an intransitive force.

δύο] This form, which is not unfrequent in Xenophon (being found in at least five passages of the *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*), is extremely rare in classical Greek. In the present instance it is supported by the authority of three leading MSS; the remainder give the ordinary form δυοῖν.

οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται] 'the king will no longer be able'. The constructions of οὐ μὴ are given at length in a note on οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μένη (IV. 8. 13).

§§ 13—15. *Having commenced their march in company, they find themselves unexpectedly in the immediate neighbourhood of the King's camp.*

ἦν...δυναμένη] More emphatic than ἐδύνατο, as Kühner suggests. The distinction drawn by the same authority between ἀποδρᾶναι 'clam aufugere' and ἀποφυγεῖν 'effugere' is explained in a note on I. 4. 8. Tr. 'now this conduct of the Retreat amounted to nothing else than eluding or out-running the foe; Fortune, however, dictated a less cowardly policy'.

ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες] i.e. northward. Koch, however, whose opinion is in accordance with that of Mr Grote and other leading authorities, considers that their course was an easterly one, with a slight inclination

towards the north. In any case it can scarcely have taken a 'south-easterly' direction, as Thirlwall apparently suggests.

ἐς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας] Col. Chesney infers that these villages were in the neighbourhood of the ruins and tumuli of *Kush* or *Sindiyah*. But the precise locality cannot be determined with any certainty, owing to the doubt which attaches to the situation of *Cunaxa* (see note on I. 10. 11). Accepting Xenophon's account of the distances (i.e. that the battle-field was only 360 stades from Babylon), Colonel Chesney places *Cunaxa* at or near the *Mounds of Muhammad*, about 34 miles along the river from the Median Wall. On the other hand, according to Plutarch, it was situated not less than 50 miles northward of Babylon, an account which is to a certain extent discredited by the fact that Cyrus clearly supposed himself to be in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and had given up any thoughts of resistance on the part of Artaxerxes.

§ 14. ἀμφὶ δέλην] i.e. δέλη πρωϊάλα or early afternoon in contrast with ὄψε which follows in § 16. See note on I. 8. 1.

§ 15. νέμονται] 'but some baggage-cattle that were grazing'. Observe the change from the indicative (εἰσιν) to the optative (νέμονται), for which see note on τέθνηκεν...εἴη (II. 1. 3). In the course of the First Book we have noticed repeated examples of a plural verb in combination with a neuter nominative (plural). Cf. I. 2. 23, I. 4. 4, I. 5. 1, etc. In the present instance the five leading MSS are all in favour of νέμονται as opposed to νέμοιτο, though Macmichael, I find, edits the latter. Mr Taylor adopts the reading of the text, but somewhat strangely regards ὑποζύγια as the accusative after νέμονται, 'men in charge of baggage-cattle', a use which is apparently confined to the active voice.

§§ 16—18. *Clearchus, not daring to force an attack with his weakened troops, continues his march, and at nightfall encamps in the adjacent villages. The Persians retreat in alarm.*

οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε] This clause forms, as Mr Taylor points out, an irregular apodosis to the words ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγεν. From the employment of the verb ἀπέκλινε I infer that the Persians were directly in front of them, rather than off the line of their route, as the same authority suggests. Any divergence from his path would have betrayed fear: consequently Clearchus continues his course, but without hurrying to overtake the enemy.

εὐθύρων] The reading εὐθυρότερον has the better manuscript authority; but the more poetical word εὐθύρων is expressly mentioned by the grammarians as occurring in Xenophon and Antiphon with the sense of κατ' εὐθείαν. Add to which, it is entirely in accordance with our author's custom to substitute rare and fanciful words in place of their ordinary equivalents (e.g. ἀνυστὸν for δυνατὸν in I. 8. 11).

τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οικίων ξύλα] See note on I. 1. 5, *ad fin.* In Kühner's opinion, an analogous construction occurs in the previous clause of the sentence (εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας...κατεσκήνωσεν), which he regards as equivalent to εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας (ἐλθὼν) κατεσκήνωσεν. There is, however, no reason why we should reject the simpler explanation which takes εἰς in connexion with the participle ἄγων.

§ 17. ἔμως] i. e. notwithstanding the dismantled state of the villages. In the phrase which follows, ἕκαστοι is used in its legitimate sense to signify 'parties of individuals'. Contrast with this an irregular use of ἐκάστοις, on which I have commented in I. I. 6. Observe the change of tense from the aorist ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο to the frequentative imperfect ἡλίζοντο.

ὥστε... ἀκούειν ὥστε... ἔφυγον] For the change of construction see note on ὥστε φίλους εἶναι (I. I. 5) and ὥστε οὐκ ἦσθάνετο (I. I. 8), the former combination denoting that an event *can take place*, the latter that it *has taken place*. The repetition of ὥστε in two following clauses is indicative of a loose and careless style.

τῶν πολεμίων] A partitive genitive, dependent on the combined phrase which precedes it.

§§ 19—end. *In the course of the night the Greeks are seized with a panic, which is allayed by the device of Clearchus.*

ὅλον εἰκὸς... γίγνεσθαι] The circumstances are precisely the same as those to which Thucydides alludes (VII. 80), φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις, φόβοι καὶ δέϊματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν νυκτί τε, καὶ διὰ πολεμίας, καὶ ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὐ πολὺ ἀπεχόντων, ἰοῦσιν.

§ 20. Τολμῶδην Ἥλειον] An anticipatory accusative, or (as Matthiæ prefers to call it) an accusative absolute, which, on account of the parenthesis that intervenes between itself and the governing verb, is taken up and emphasized by the demonstrative τοῦτον. The comma, which I have preferred to introduce after ἐαυτῷ, is omitted by Kühner, but the words κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε read better as a separate clause.

τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον] 'the person who had let the donkey loose upon the camp'. The same story is told of Iphicrates, and was no doubt a recognised joke, as Mr Taylor suggests. λήψεται for λήψοιτο is an instance of sudden transition from the indirect to the direct narration, other examples of which will be found in the note to ἀκούει (I. 3. 20). The employment of ὅτι in two successive clauses (ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν... ὅτι λήψεται), though strictly grammatical, is displeasing to the ear, and would have been avoided by a writer who studied the form of his sentences.

§ 21. ἥπερ εἶχον] 'precisely as they were stationed at the time of the engagement'. Two only of the best MSS give ἥπερ in place of ἦνπερ, though Kühner is probably right in preferring the former reading, as any change would no doubt have been made in favour of the accusative.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. *As a proof of the King's terror the author points to his negotiations for a truce.*

ἐκέλευε] 'we saw him advising them'. The tense, which gives additional reality to the event described, has been explained in connexion with ὠρμηγτο (I. 10. 1), ὠρμῶντο (II. I. 3), and ὥκουν (III. 4. 7).

τότε δὲ] 'whereas *πισυν*'. τότε means simply the 'time we have in view', the 'time we are considering', whether the reference is to a past occasion as in Thuc. III. 69, αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίοις βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι ὥς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους . . . πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, or to a recent one as in I. I. 6, καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρους τὸ ἀρχαῖον . . . τότε δὲ ἀφιστήκεσαν.

§§ 2, 3. *Clearchus arranges for a display of his forces.*

τυχῶν . . . ἐπισκοπῶν] The combination of the two participles is objectionable for the reasons mentioned in the note to § 20 of the last chapter, while a still more awkward construction occurs in the following sentence, viz. ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι, 'so that it was in a favourable position to be inspected on all sides as a close phalanx'. It is by no means clear whether καλῶς ἔχειν is to be taken thus in reference to τὸ στράτευμα, or whether we are to understand it more generally in the following sense: 'so that circumstances were favourable for its inspection'. The former is perhaps the simpler explanation in consequence of the double infinitive. The manœuvre of 'closing the phalanx' was effected by reducing by one half the space of four cubits which was allotted to each soldier when in open order.

§ 3. αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις . . . ἔφρασεν] We have in these the two main clauses of the sentence, the parenthesis which intervenes (τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους . . . τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν) being likewise complete in itself.

§§ 4—9. *On the arrival of the envoys Clearchus declines to treat with them until his troops have been supplied with provisions. After some hesitation he consents to a truce on condition that guides are furnished to lead the army into quarters.*

πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις] 'in the presence of the envoys'. Cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1169,

οἶμοι, πρὸς αὐτῷ γ' εἰμὶ τῷ δεινῷ λέγειν.

ἄνδρες] This word, which is added for the sake of emphasis, is employed for the same purpose in Thuc. IV. 60, πόλεμον γὰρ αἰρομένων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοῦς, ἄνδρας, οἳ καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτοὶ ἐπιστρατεύουσι.

§ 5. οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων] *σὺ δὲ*. ἔστιν, 'nor is there the man who will dare to mention the word "truce" to the Greeks'. For this use of the participle in the sense of the Latin 'neque erit qui audeat', cf. Thuc. III. 83, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων αὐτοὺς οὔτε ὅρκος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου φόβος.

§ 6. ἦκον] 'were back again'.

δοκοῖεν . . . ἦκοιεν] It is possible that the reference is to the envoys in both cases, as some of the commentators suggest. I have little doubt however that there is a change of subject, the former verb referring to the *Greeks*, the latter to the *envoys*.

§ 7. αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι] 'only for the foraging party'. This, which is Macmichael's interpretation of the passage, appears to me to be the only reasonable one. It can scarcely be doubted that the words τοῖς ἄλλοις refer to the main body of the Greek troops, as Clearchus would scarcely concern himself about the interests of the Persian army. In this case the implied antithesis will be lost or weakened, if we

understand αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι of the Persian envoys (with Krüger), or of a mixed deputation of Greeks and Persians, which is the remaining alternative.

ιοῦσι καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν] Predicative: 'on their way there and back'. In one good MS the article is inserted before ιοῦσι, and Krüger has accordingly admitted it into his text. But the phrase is definite enough in its present form, and would lose in neatness by the proposed addition.

§ 8. μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς] 'having caused the envoys to withdraw', a well-known force of the middle which occurs again in VII. 2. 30, and Thuc. I. 79.

ταχύ τε] Observe the slight misplacement of the word τε, which in strict sequence would be directly connected with the phrase τὰς σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι.

§ 9. ἀποδύξῃ ἡμῖν] 'lest we should decide against concluding the truce'. Compare the force of ἀπογινώσκειν, ἀποψηφίζεσθαι and similar verbs.

τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον] Clearchus apparently implies that his device will be so complete as to mislead and irritate even his own followers. If so, there is but little point in the statement, and I am not surprised at Krüger's suggestion that the paragraph has been lost which introduced or explained it. In addition to the exhaustion of the troops and the presence of the enemy, the course they were following would make it necessary for them to cross the *Nahr Malka*: a combination of difficulties which sufficiently accounts for the disquietude of the Greeks.

§§ 10—12. *The troops continue their march through a country intersected by canals. The vigour shown by Clearchus in the exercise of his command.*

τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς...τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων] The antithesis implies that he was still suspicious of the Persians and their promises: 'with his army in fighting order notwithstanding he had made the truce'.

αὐλῶσιν] 'channels', 'water-courses', rather than 'valleys' as Hutchinson suggests. The word is used in poetry of the *Euripus*, and also in a well-known passage of Soph. *Trach.* (v. 100) to describe the channel of the Hellespont:

ἢ ποντίας αὐλῶνας ἢ δισσαῖσιν ἀπείροις κλιθεῖς.

In the present passage the substantive τάρχοι will probably denote the larger canals (called δῶρυχες in I. 7. 15), intersecting the district between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, the principal of which are now known as the *Isa* and *Nahr Malka* or *Nahr Malik* canals. The word αὐλῶσιν on the other hand will refer to the smaller watercourses leading out of the above, which in II. 4. 13 are spoken of under the name of ὄχετοί.

ὑδατος πλήρῃσιν] i. e. flooded, for the express purpose of barring the progress of the Greeks as we gather from § 13.

διαβάσεις] 'means for crossing them', i. e. temporary bridges, but the word is used in a purely general sense as in III. 4. 20, and again in III. 5. 9.

ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες] 'which lay ready on the ground'. The com-

bination is stronger than the simple verb. Cf. ἦν δυναμένη (II. 2. 13), εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι (IV. 7. 1). The *apodosis* of the sentence is irregular in form, with the effect of emphasizing the words τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. Cf. *Cyrus*. IV. 5. 46, ὁράτε, ἵπποι ὅσοι ἡμῖν πάρεισιν, οἱ δὲ προσάγονται.

§ 11. βακτηρίαν] A Lacedaemonian custom, which Krüger illustrates from Thuc. VIII. 84. 3.

τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων] What this duty was is suggested by the words διαβάσεις ἐποιούντο in the former section.

τὸν ἐπιτήδειον] sc. παῖσθαι. Cf. V. 2. 12, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους (ἐπιμεληθῆναι) ἔπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι, a passage which in the omission of the infinitive more nearly illustrates the present text than the one usually quoted from Thuc. VIII. 70, καὶ ἄνδρας τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, οἱ δὲ δόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι ὑπεξαιρεθῆναι.

ἐπαίσειν αὖν] Cf. I. 9. 19, εἰ δέ τινα ὀρῶν...οὐδένα αὖν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, a sentence which in form exactly resembles the one before us. Illustrations of this frequentative use will be found in the note to the passage in question, and also in connexion with I. 5. 2, where however the presence of αὖν in the text is open to question.

προσελάμβανεν] 'he would himself lend a helping hand'.

μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξῃ] The construction is explained at length in a note on τί ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὐχ...ἀποθανεῖν (III. 1. 13).

§ 13. *The reasons which induced Clearchus to hasten his march.*

αἰεῖ] This Ionic form appears in other passages of Xenophon, and in the case before us is supported by the united authority of the mss. Even with the information supplied to us in the present section, the reason for these forced marches is not altogether clear. It may have been (as Kühner suggests) to exhibit to the barbarians the determination of the Greeks in the face of difficulties: more probably, I think, to make good their footing while the resources of the enemy were as yet undeveloped.

οἶα...ἄρδεν] This construction is best known as the formula by which Theophrastus introduces his various *Sketches of Character*. For the dependence of the country on artificial irrigation. cf. *Arr.* VII. 7. 9, οὐ γὰρ ὕεται τὸ πολὺ ἢ γῆ αὐτῇ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. According to Weiske, the irrigation in preparation for the autumnal sowing took place in summer: hence the surprise of the Greeks at finding the country still under water at the commencement of autumn.

ἥδη] 'at starting', 'at the outset'.

§§ 14—16. *The Greeks arrive at certain villages, where they remain three days. The products of the country described.*

οἶνος φοινίκων] To judge from Herod. I. 193, and *Anab.* I. 5. 10, the fruit of the date-palm was first subjected to pressure, and the juice thus extracted formed the better class of wine known as οἶνος φοινίκων. What remained of the fruit was then boiled down, and yielded a poor sour liquor (ὄξος), which may have been used as vinegar or as a cheap and inferior wine.

§ 15. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι] The mss give αὐται δὲ αἱ βάλανοι, but the reading of the text is preferred by all the leading editors. At this time only the inferior kind of dates (called δάκτυλοι) were known in

Greece, but at a later period the finer class mentioned by Xenophon were also imported under the name of *καρυωτοί* or *καρυώτιδες*. In the time of Martial these were in great demand with the Romans who decorated them and used them as New Year and Easter gifts. Cf. Mart. VIII. 33. 11.

αἱ δὲ...ἀποκείμεναι] A departure from the ordinary sequence, which would have been as follows: αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀπέκειντο, ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι. The change may have been introduced for the reason suggested in connexion with the words τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον in § 10.

ἡλέκτρον] It is not clear whether the reference is to amber, to gold, or to a well-known metal which was a compound of gold and silver. Kühner follows Weiske in thinking that amber is meant: but the fact that the date in question is mentioned by Galen as the 'gold-date' (ὁ χρυσοβάλανος) is in favour of the second rendering. In a passage of Soph. *Antig.* 1037, with which Xenophon was presumably acquainted, the reference is clearly to the gold of the *Pactolus*:

κερδαίνειτ', ἐμπολάτε τὰπὸ Σάρδεων
ἡλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν Ἴνδικόν
χρυσόν' κ.τ.λ.

τὰς δέ τινας] Cf. οἱ δέ τινες (V. 7. 16). From the plural *τραγήματα* ('sweetmeats') the majority of the editors supply *τράγημα* as the nominative to ἦν which follows. Kühner understands τοῦτο, which is preferable because less definite. Moreover in the next section it is the word actually used in reference to *ἐγκέφαλος*.

§ 16. τὸν ἐγκέφαλον] i. e. 'the large terminal bud on the top of the palm tree, by which it exclusively grows' (*Rennell*). It is now known as the 'crown' of the palm. Cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XIII. 4, *dulcis medulla carum* (palmarum) *in cacumine, quod cerebrum appellat*.

τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδυνήs] 'its peculiarly sweet taste'. ἐξαιρεθεῖη in the final clause of the section is of course frequentative. See note on ἀφικνοῖτο in I. 1. 5.

§§ 17—20. *Tissaphernes arrives with other ambassadors to treat with the Greeks on the part of the king. After many professions of friendship he requires to be informed of their objects in undertaking the campaign.*

τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς] Her name was Statira, though the mention of her brother in the present passage does not accord with the account of Ctesias, who says that all the rest of her family had been put to death by Parysatis in the time of Darius.

§ 18. γέλτων] In his character of satrap of Caria.

πεπτωκότας] which is found in all the MSS, has been displaced by nearly all the editors with the exception of Kühner in favour of ἐμπεπτωκότας, a reading which depends for its authority on a quotation of Suidas. Observe the emphatic position of ἀμήχανα, which marks it as no mere adjunct to the adjective πολλά.

εἶρημα ἐποίησάμην] = *lucro affosui*, 'I reckoned it a piece of good fortune'. ἔυρημα is a 'wind-fall', an 'unexpected prize', like ἔρμαιον in Soph. *Antig.* 397,

ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἐμὸν θοῦρμαιον, οὐκ ἄλλον, τόδε.

I cannot accept the suggestion of Kühner, who proposes the following rendering: 'rationem aliquam excogitavi', without giving any reason for rejecting the simpler and more natural interpretation.

ἀν...ἔξειν] 'for methinks I shall find it no thankless task'. This combination of ἀν with the future (though the MSS are in this case unanimous in its favour) is extremely rare in Attic Greek, and the student cannot be warned too strongly against imitating it. The objections to it are obvious, for while the future implies a certain assurance that an event will happen, the particle ἀν will always suggest a measure of doubt. We must therefore treat the particle as only indirectly connected with ἔξειν, inasmuch as it indicates a suppressed clause signifying 'it may be', 'perchance', i.e. if my plan succeeds. Cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 523,

ἀλλ' ἦλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦνειδος τάχ' ἔν
ὀργῇ βιασθὲν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ φρενῶν.

and again *Oed. Col.* 965,

θεοῖς γὰρ ἦν οὕτω φίλον,
τάχ' ἂν τι μνηίουσιν εἰς γένος πάλαι.

§ 19. αὐτῷ] Emphatic by position: 'in concern for his interests'. For the force of the preposition κατὰ in the phrase τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων, see notes on I. 8. 21, and V. 2. 21.

διήλασα] The occurrence is mentioned in I. 10. 7.

ἐνθα] Adverbs of this class are not unfrequently found in combination with verbs of rest. An equally strong example occurs in the phrase ἐνθα...ἐσπεύδομεν (IV. 8. 14). Kühner instances other cases (e.g. VII. 3. 3, VII. 6. 14), which are scarcely so forcible, as the verb of motion has to be supplied with each.

ἀπέκτεινε] This may be simply a realistic use of the verb, like μαχεῖσθαι in the phrase οἷε γὰρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κῦρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; in I. 7. 9. Otherwise, if taken literally, it will (as Mr Taylor suggests) bear out the statement of Plutarch (*Arlax.* 14) that the king claimed to have slain Cyrus with his own hand.

§ 20. βουλευσασθαι] βουλευσεσθαι *Hutch.* and others, an alteration sanctioned by Madvig, who, in the corresponding passage of I. 2. 2, proposes to read παύσεσθαι in place of παύσασθαι. But the unanimous authority of the MSS in favour of the aorist both in the present passage and in one from the *Oeconomics* (vii. 8) forms a strong argument in support of Kühner's theory, that verbs of *hoping* and *expecting* are constructed indifferently with the present, future or aorist of the infinitive.

§§ 21—23. Clearchus replies in the name of the Greeks: 'we joined in the expedition of Cyrus from no personal animosity to the King but from motives of self-interest. Afterwards it became a point of honour with us not to desert him in his time of need. For the future, as the King deals with us so will we deal with him'.

μεταστάντες] 'having retired'. The employment of μεταστάντες in place of μεταστησάμενοι (§ 8) suggests the superior rank and authority of the ambassadors who on this occasion represent the king. The alterna-

tion of tenses throughout this section is a study in itself: 'The Greeks took counsel for a while, and then replied, Clearchus acting as their spokesman. We did not, said he, make common cause...nor were we on our way...but Cyrus was for ever inventing pretexts' etc.

§ 22. ἡσχύνθημεν] 'we were ashamed in the sight of Gods and men to betray Cyrus', the phrase προδοῦναι αὐτὸν being substituted in place of the ordinary cognate αἰσχος with a view to its closer definition. Kühner suggests a different, and, as I think, less natural explanation of the construction: 'per breviloquentiam dictum est pro: αἰσχυνόμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἡσχύνθημεν προδοῦναι αὐτόν'.

εὖ ποιεῖν] 'when in the first instance we had offered ourselves as the recipients of his favours'. For this use of the infinitive in combinations where the gerundive would be employed in Latin, see note on εἰ παρέχοιεν in II. I. 11.

§ 23. οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει] In place of the leading negative, which usually precedes οὐδέ, we have in the present instance two subordinate negative clauses (οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἕνεκα βουλοίμεθ' ἂν) which are treated as equivalent to it.

πορευόμεθα] πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν Kühner, but the reading of the text is far more forcible, and is supported moreover by the authority of the four leading mss. Bornemann suggests πορευοίμεθα δὲ as a less violent alteration, with which we should have to supply ἂν from the previous clauses. I cannot myself see the slightest objection to the manuscript reading: for, as we have frequently had occasion to notice, our author allows important modifications in the form of the conditional proposition. Compare too the use of the present for the future in § 27.

σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] Cf. III. I. 23. The phrase σὺν τούτοις (i.e. τοῖς ὅπλοις), to which I have taken exception in a note on II. I. 12, is widely separated from the present use owing to the employment of the neuter. For ὑπάρχειν, see note on I. I. 4. In the present instance, and again in V. 5. 9 (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποθ' ὑπῆρξαμεν κακῶς ποιοῦντες), the compound is an emphatic substitute for the simple verb ἀρχεῖν.

οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες] The sentiment is a favourite one with Xenophon. Cf. I. 9, 11, ἔστε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας ἀλεξέμενος.

§§ 24—end. Tissaphernes returns to consult the King, and three days later a treaty is concluded by which the Persians agree to facilitate the progress of the Greeks through their territory, and the latter engage on their part to purchase all the provisions they require, unless the inhabitants of any particular district should decline to afford them a market.

§ 25. εἰς...τὴν ὑπεράλει] See note on I. 7. 1.

διαπεπραγμένος] 'having obtained his request from the king in a permission that he might save the Greeks'.

ἀξιον] Equivalent to πρέπον. In Latin the adjective *dignus*, when it is employed in this sense, takes the same construction, e.g. in Plaut. *Poen.* I. 2. 45, *dignum diem Veneri*.

26. ἀδύλως ἀπάξει] If once the Greeks had decided to settle in Babylonia, it would have been impossible, Mr Taylor thinks, for the Persians to have dislodged them owing to the weakness of their infantry,

and the network of canals by which the country was intersected. Hence the eagerness of the king and his advisers to offer any terms by which they might expedite the retreat: all measures of hostility being deferred until they had placed the enemy on the further side of the Tigris.

§ 27. πορεύεσθαι] 'go your way', 'continue your march'. In the endeavour to make the tenses coincide, Schneider and Dindorf have edited πορεύσασθαι in defiance of all the MSS. But Kühner's defence of the reading πορεύεσθαι is entirely satisfactory, as the present is more forcible than the future tense in cases of strong affirmation (cf. IV. 5. 15, V. 2. 31), and suggests moreover that there must be no delay in the commencement of the march.

ἀσινῶς] A poetic word, of frequent occurrence in Homer and Aeschylus, and found once in Plato (*Legg.* 670, D). Otherwise its use is chiefly confined to Herodotus.

ὠνουμένους] Emphatic: 'that you will pay for all the provisions you may take'.

§ 29. συσκευασάμενος] See note on I. 3. 14.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. *A delay of more than twenty days, during which attempts are made on the part of the King to withdraw Ariæus from his allegiance to the Greeks.*

πλείους ἢ ἑκοσιν] The entire period consumed in these negotiations is estimated by Col. Chesney at about twenty-three days. During this interval the king had returned to Babylon to celebrate the victory of *Cunaxa*. To Tissaphernes, in recognition of his services, he gave his daughter in marriage, appointing him to the command of the provinces which had been held by Cyrus. In return for these favours Tissaphernes (so Diodorus tells us) engaged to secure the destruction of the Greeks (*Diod.* XIV. 26).

ἀναγκαῖοι] i.e. relatives by blood as distinguished from connexions by marriage.

δεξιὰς...ἔφερον] The word δεξιὰ is used thus in *Cyrop.* IV. 2. 7 to denote the pledge or promise of which it was the symbol. The infinitive clause which follows (μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα κ.τ.λ.) is explanatory of the implied promise, as in II. 5. 3, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσειν ἀλλήλους.

§§ 2—4. *The suspicions of the Greeks being aroused by these negotiations, a protest is laid before Clearchus against unnecessary delay.*

οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίων] One good MS gives οἱ παρὰ Ἀριαίων, for which see the introduction and a note on παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν (I. 2. 13).

οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιώντες] For this sudden change of subject (*ἤρεσκον* referring to οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίων and *προσιόντες* to οἱ πολλοί) Kühner compares a sentence in I. 4. 5, where the transitions are still more remarkable, ἀποβιβάσειεν referring to Κῦρος, βιασάμενοι to οἱ ὀπλίται, and φυλάττοιεν to οἱ πολέμιοι.

ἔλεγον] Observe in translating the force of the imperfect: 'detailed their fears', 'made formal protest'.

§ 3. στρατεύειν] One of the best MSS gives μὴ στρατεύειν, and the negative is retained by Macmichael, who compares Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 1391, φόβος δ' ἦν ὥστε μὴ τέγξαι πόδα, which is not however an exact parallel. Either construction is admissible, but the latter is unquestionably the more usual and also the more elegant idiom. See note on τοῦ στρατεύσαι (al. τοῦ μὴ στρατεύσαι) in III. 1. 18.

ἰπάγεται] We have already noticed the force of this middle in connexion with II. 1. 18.

ἐπήν] The MSS are almost unanimous in favour of the form ἐπήν (in place of ἐπὶ) both here and again in *Cyrob.* III. 2. 1. It is however condemned by Elmsley as unclassical in his note to Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1226.

ἀλίσθη] Like the adjective ἀσινής in II. 3. 27, the present verb is found chiefly in Herodotus and the poets.

§ 4. ἀποσκάπτει...ἀποτείχειζει] The preposition literally denotes a barrier of *exclusion*; but, while the English idiom is to wall an army *in* i.e. by themselves, the Greek and Latin is to wall them *off* i.e. apart from others, and thus ἀποτείχειζειν, ἀποτείχισμα, *excipere* and the like are often used of a barrier which impedes or even incloses.

ῆ] The four leading MSS give εἴη, which is retained by Macmichael and others as expressing the remoteness of the contingency. On the contrary, the probability of the event forms the very gist of the argument; add to which, the optative would be distinctly ungrammatical in this connexion. See note on ῆ (al. εἴη) in III. 2. 36. Kühner is therefore, I think, to be followed in regarding εἴη as 'corruptelam sine dubio ex concursu vocabulorum ῆ et ἦ ortam.'

τοσοῖδε ὄντες] 'only so many', i.e. so few. The same ambiguity attends the use of *tantus* in Latin (e.g. in Cic. *ad Fam.* I. 7. 8), and other words of the same family in Greek. Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 726,

οἱ τηλικοῖδε καὶ διδαξέμεσθα δὴ
φρονεῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τηλικοῦδε τὴν φύσιν;

'Are we *at our age* to learn what common sense means from one so young in years?'

ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ] An Eastern hyperbole.

§§ 5—7. Clearchus counsels moderation on account of the difficulties which beset their path.

καὶ ταῦτα πάντα] 'all this and more', the καὶ being added for the purpose of suggesting that the points on which they lay such stress represent but a small portion of his own anxieties.

ἐν πολέμῳ] 'on a war-footing', 'in the character of open enemies'. The MSS (with the exception of four, among which are three of pre-eminent weight) give ἐπὶ for ἐν, which is accepted by Macmichael, Mr Taylor and some of the other editors. I question, however, whether, in spite of any manuscript authority, ἐπὶ with the dative could express the *circumstances under which* an action takes place. In the phrases with which Macmichael compares it (e.g. ἐπὶ γάμῳ in § 8, ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ in v. 8. 18) the preposition clearly denotes the *immediate object*, a sense which is entirely out of keeping with the present context.

ὅθεν] We must supply χώραν or some general word.

ταῦτα ποιοῦντων] ταῦτ' ἂν ποιοῦντων Mr Taylor and others, after the suggestion of Kühner, who does not however give the particle a place in his own text. If it is to be admitted at all, I should be inclined, both on the score of grammar and rhythm, to introduce it before the word Ἀριαῖος rather than before ποιοῦντων, on the supposition that it has been merged in the initial letters of the proper name. ἀφ'εστῆξει, which is the correction adopted by the majority of the editors, is denounced by Kühner as an evident attempt to make the mood and tense correspond with those of the surrounding verbs. The employment of the optative without ἂν to express a remote contingency is extremely rare in the prose writers generally, nor is there any established instance of its occurrence in Xenophon.

λελείπεται] Observe the tense: 'we shall find that we have no friend left'. With οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες we must supply φίλοι out of φίλος in the previous clause. The reference is of course to Ariaeus and the party who would be likely to follow him.

§ 6. ποταμὸς] Emphatic by position, like βασιλέα in the following section. Compare by way of illustration a passage in I. 9. 20, φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο...ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν.

δ' οὖν] Cf. I. 2. 12 and note. All the chief MSS give οἶδαμεν for ἴσμεν in the present passage, and there is the same agreement in favour of the rarer form οἶδας in IV. 6. 6.

οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι] 'whereas, on the part of the enemy, cavalry form the largest and most serviceable portion of their troops'. In a declamatory speech like the present the question which follows (ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν;) forms an effective substitute for οὐδένα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν.

§ 7. τὰ σύμματα] The neuter is used, as Mr Taylor points out, to include the natural obstacles to their retreat. For the distinction between εἶπερ and εἴγε, see note on the former word in IV. 6. 16.

§§ 8—11. *On the return of Tissaphernes the Retreat is commenced, the Greeks and Persians retaining their separate camps. Ariaeus associates himself with Tissaphernes. A mutual mistrust and animosity arises between the Greeks and their allies.*

Ὁρόντας] He is apparently identical with the satrap of Armenia referred to in III. 5. 17, and IV. 3. 4. According to Plutarch, the daughter of Artaxerxes, who is mentioned as the wife of Orontas both here and again in III. 4. 13, was called Rhodogune.

ἐπὶ γάμῳ] 'ut regis filiam in matrimonio haberet' (Kühner), the marriage having been previously celebrated at Babylon. I have quoted the rendering of Kühner, as it exactly illustrates the force of the preposition to which I have called attention in § 5. The use of the singular (γάμος) in place of the plural sufficiently shews that the reference is not to the actual marriage of Orontas and Rhodogune but to their subsequent relations as man and wife.

§ 10. ὑφορῶντες] 'viewing them suspiciously', 'keeping a watchful eye upon them.' The verb ὑφορᾶν is the equivalent in figurative language of ὑποβλέπειν which is only employed in the primary sense.

αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν] 'alone by themselves'.

§ 11. ξυλίζόμενοι] The verb ξυλίζεσθαι corresponds to the Latin *lignari*.

χόρτον] 'grass', 'green fodder'. In cases where hay is meant, Xenophon usually adds a distinguishing epithet (e.g. κοῦφος in I. 5. 10, and ξηδς in V. 2. 6).

§ 12. *They arrive at the so-called wall of Media. Its form and structure described.*

τρεις σταθμοὺς] Reckoning, in all probability, from the commencement of the Retreat with Tissaphernes.

τὸ Μηδείας καλούμενον τείχος] See note on I. 7. 15. The wall was actually in *Babylonia*: hence the addition of the participle καλούμενον. It is suggested that the name may have been derived from Medea, the wife of the last of the Median kings, or else from the fact that it was intended to act as a barrier against the inroads of the Medes. The latter is in all probability the correct hypothesis, and the wall itself is thought to have been constructed in the period of Queen Nitocris (about B.C. 560).

παρήλθον εἰς αὐτοῦ] 'they advanced along the inner side of it', i.e. on the side nearest to Babylon. For further details consult the Appendix.

ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις] 'laid in bitumen'. The famous wall of Babylon was built of the same materials (Herod. I. 179), a fact which has induced Sir H. Rawlinson to argue somewhat inconclusively that the Median wall may itself have been only a part of the same enclosure. According to Herodotus, bitumen was collected either from wells (VI. 119), or from the surface of certain rivers, notably the *Is*, in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon.

ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ] Suggestions as to the cause of this misconception will be found in the Appendix.

§§ 13, 14. *Two canals from the Tigris are crossed, after which the expedition arrives at Sittake, a large and populous town not far from the river. The Greeks and the Barbarians encamp on opposite sides of the stream.*

διώρυχας δύο] It is reported among the Arabs that traces of two canals, which are possibly identical with those mentioned in the text, are still to be found in the neighbourhood. One of these leaves the *Tigris* at *Istabalat*, near where the *Little Tigris* quits the main river: the other was apparently only a branch of the *Little Tigris*.

ἐξευγμένην] In the corresponding passage of I. 2. 5, the compound ἐπεξευγμένη is the true, and (for the reasons given in the note) the more intelligible, reading. Here, by a bolder figure, the simple verb is used in direct reference to the canal: a construction to which the Latin *fontem iungere* scarcely affords a parallel.

ἐπὶ τὰς μέλινας] 'over the fields of panic': an accusative of extension. Cf. παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν in the following section.

ἡ ὁδομα Σιττάκη] Ainsworth identifies *Sittake* with the modern *Akbara*, a favourite residence of the Khalifs, situated on the *Shat Aūdha*, one of the canals which were drawn from the *Tigris* to flow back into the same river. Col. Chesney arrives at a different conclusion. Adopting the theory that the old bed of the river *Tigris*—now known as *Shat*

Aidha—represents the Tigris of Xenophon, 'I should place Sittake (he says) about ten miles north-west of Baghdad near *Sheriat el Beidha*'. The latter view, which is accepted by the majority of the commentators, fixes the position of *Opis* at a point a little above *Kaim* and close to the head of the *Nahr al Risas*, a tributary of the *Nahrarwan*, which by the same calculation corresponds to the *Physcus* of Xenophon. The alternative theory advanced by Ainsworth identifies the river *Physcus* with the modern *Athaim*, and places *Opis* near the point where it meets the main stream.

§ 14. *δασέος παντοίων δένδρων*] The genitive is remarkable after *δασέος*, in place of the dative with which the adjective is usually constructed. Probably, as Kühner suggests, the genitive is accommodated to the secondary sense of the adjective, which is akin to that of *μεστός*, etc. At any rate we can scarcely take *δένδρον* as an independent genitive of quality, which is the alternative adopted by Krüger.

διαβεβηκότες] We must supply *ἐσκήνησαν*: 'crossed the stream (before doing so)'.

§§ 15—23. *The Persians make an unsuccessful attempt to alarm the Greeks by intimating that they intend to destroy the bridge.*

πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων] Cf. *εἰς τὰ ὄπλα* (II. 2. 20), and the note on *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα* (III. 1. 3).

καὶ ταῦτα] Equivalent to *idque* in Latin. If the object of the mission had been an honest one, Menon, as the guest-friend of Ariæus, would in all probability have received the first intimation of the danger. It is surely more natural to understand the passage thus than to find in it a suggestion that Menon was suspected of being an accomplice in the scheme.

§ 16. *ἐπεμψε*] For the singular verb, which is accommodated to Ariæus as the more important personage, see note on I. 10. 1, *βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κυρέϊον στρατόπεδον*. Another but less decided example occurs in v. 9. 16, *ἀπήγγελλε δέ, ὅτι ἐπαυνοίη αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι*.

§ 17. *παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν*] The inferior MSS give *ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν*, but the reading of the text is retained by Kühner and Vollbrecht, the former of whom adds that he knows of no other instance in Attic prose in which *παρὰ* is used in the same connexion. It may however be treated as an accusative of extension ('to line the bridge'): otherwise it is probably, as Macmichael suggests, a survival of the Homeric usage (*ἔτην παρὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν*).

§ 19. *οὐκ ἀκόλουθα*] 'inconsistent', 'out of keeping'.

ὅποι—σωθῶμεν] Macmichael is one of the few editors who adopt *ὅπου* for *ὅποι* on the strength of two MSS, a reading which it would be easy to defend if the manuscript authority had been more decidedly in its favour. There is more difficulty in determining whether *σωθῶμεν* (which appears in two leading MSS) or *σωθείημεν* is the true reading, though the former has been preferred by the majority of the editors, and is easily explicable if we regard *ἂν ἔχοιμεν* as equivalent in sense to a future indicative. See note on *καταδύση* (I. 3. 17), in which I have commented on a very similar construction which occurs in the opening lines of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles.

§ 20. ὅποι φύγωσιν] Here all the MSS are in favour of ὅπου, though its retention presents far greater difficulties than in the previous passage (ὅπου φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν), where the addition of σωθῶμεν brings it into less direct combination with the verb of motion. Accordingly Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors give the preference to ὅποι. All the MSS, with the exception of the two best, are agreed in reading ἄν before the deliberative subjunctive φύγωσιν, a combination which Kühner regards as defensible in cases where there is a clear hypothesis, expressed or implied (e.g. in Plat. *Protag.* 319 A).

§ 21. ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος] The Greeks were at present on an island formed by the Tigris and two of its canals, one of which they had recently crossed.

§ 22. ὑποπέμψαιεν] Cf. ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη, 'that he was insidiously sent' (III. 3. 4).

διελόντες] is the admirable conjecture of Holtzmann in place of the manuscript reading διελθόντες. The latter verb is out of keeping with the context, and could not be used properly in connexion with γέφυραν.

τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων] I cannot at all agree with Kühner, who regards both this and the preceding participial clause as directly dependent on the preposition ἐκ. Both the one and the other are added by way of explanation, although a fresh subject is introduced with the second participle, nor would the construction be materially affected by the insertion of a comma after the genitive χώρας, 'for the district was a large and fertile one, and there were men in it to cultivate it'.

ἀποστροφή] Poetical: 'a place of refuge' or 'sanctuary'.

§ 23. ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν...πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν] The change of preposition is noteworthy. Far from being accidental, it marks the distinct character of the two operations.

§§ 24—26. *At daybreak the Greeks cross the Tigris without interference on the part of the enemy, and, proceeding up the left bank, arrive at Opis and the river Phrysus. Although the Persians are strengthened by reinforcements, they are overawed by the appearance of the Greek troops.*

ἔως] One of the leading MSS gives the Ionic form ἥως. An extract from Photius, which is quoted by Kühner in an interesting note, makes it probable that the latter form was deliberately preferred by Xenophon, and that ἔως, wherever it occurs, is the correction of a copyist.

τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευγμένην] See note on ἐξευγμένην in § 13.

τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρους Ἑλλήνων] The construction has been explained in connexion with the phrase τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως (I. 1. 5). For the omission of the subject to διαβαίνοντων, see note on προϊόντων (I. 2. 17).

διαβαίνοντων μέντοι...αὐτοῖς] We might have expected a participle in agreement with the subject, but the genitive absolute is employed often in place of it when it is required to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement. Cf. οἰκισθέντος (V. 3. 7), and οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων (I. 4. 12).

εἶδεν] *Sub.* διαβεβηκότας.

§ 25. τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν] The relative positions of *Opis* and the river *Phrysus* have been considered in connexion with that of *Sittake*. See note on § 13.

ἡ ὄνομα Ὀπίς] The rise of *Opis* dates from the decline of the Assyrian cities on the Tigris, while in its turn it fell into decay as *Aramaea*, *Seleucia* and other towns rose into importance.

ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων] *Susa*, the winter residence of the Persian kings, was situated on the east side of the river *Choaspes*. Its site is occupied by the modern town of *Sus*. The *Shushan* of Daniel (viii. 2), with which till lately it was supposed to correspond, is now identified with *Susan* on the banks of the *Eulaeus*, the *Ulai* of Scripture. The *Ecbatana* of Media answers to the modern *Hammedan*, but Assyria, Babylonia and the other provinces of the East had each of them a treasure-city called by this name.

§ 26. εἰς δύο] 'two abreast', i. e. in double file. This arrangement was adopted in order to give an exaggerated idea of their numbers.

ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε] 'halting from time to time'. The phrase occurs again in v. 2. 29, where I am strongly inclined to read ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη for the reasons given in the note.

ὅσον δ' [ἂν] χρόνον...ἐπιστήσειε] The optative is found in all the leading MSS: the inferior ones give the subjunctive ἐπιστῇ. Viewed on its own merits, the latter reading unquestionably presents the fewer difficulties, as it is quite conceivable that the imperfect ἦν should hold its place in connexion with a clause which (to ensure greater reality) had been placed by the writer in a historic form. A strong argument, however, against the reading ἐπιστῇ is to be found in the fact that, in the precisely similar passage of II. 6. 5 (ὅσους μὲν [ἂν] αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὥς εὖ ὠπλισμένους ἐφειβέιτο), no trace of the subjunctive appears in any of the MSS, which fluctuate between ἂν αἰσθάνοιτο, αἰσθάνοιτο and ἦσθάνετο. Kühner, whose opinion is followed by the majority of the editors, retains the optative with ἂν in both cases, though neither passage lends itself readily to his theory that the particle represents a suppressed hypothesis. Vollbrecht's omission of ἂν is possibly the best, as it is certainly the simplest, of the proposed remedies. By this means the optative takes its natural place as an ordinary frequentative.

τὸ ἡγούμενον] 'the van' of the army. Cf. τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος (IV. 1. 7).

ὥστε...δόξαι] We should have expected the indicative in order to emphasize the fact that the anticipated result *did* occur: whereas the infinitive only implies that it was *likely* to occur. Compare however the precisely similar passage in I. 5. 13 (ἦλυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος ὥστε ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλήχθαι), and consult the note on ὥστε φίλους εἶναι (I. 5).

§§ 27—end. On their way through Media the Greeks come to certain villages appropriated to Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus. After plundering these, they continue their march along the Tigris until they arrive at Caenae, a populous town situated on the opposite bank of the river.

ἐρήμους] 'uninhabited', which is probably the meaning of the adjective in the more difficult phrase ἐρήμη πόλις (I. 5. 4). Rennell calls attention to the fact that, strictly speaking, the Greeks were in *Assyria* throughout this portion of the march. We do not however know with any certainty the precise extent of the satrapy of Media.

τὰς Παρυσάτιδες κώμας] Col. Chesney (II. 222) places these villages about three miles beyond the *Lesser Zab*, which must have been crossed by the Greeks without mention by Xenophon.

Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελάειν] This, as Thirlwall suggests, was in all probability only the *nominal* reason; the real object of Tissaphernes being to excite the anger of the queen-mother against the Greek troops. The point of the insult lay in the fact that the plunderers were men who had taken service under her favourite son.

πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων] i.e. no violence was to be done to the slaves of the inhabitants. Others follow Krüger, who regards the phrase πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων as equivalent to πλὴν ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε, 'except the right of making the inhabitants slaves'. The passages, however, to which he refers by way of illustration (e.g. Thuc. IV. 54, Herod. v. 71) are by no means instances in point.

§ 28. Καιναί] According to the calculations of Lynch and Rennell the city of *Caenae* is represented by certain ruins at *Senn*, not far from the embouchure of the *Greater Zab* on the opposite side of the *Tigris*; but Rawlinson, Chesney and others have fixed the site with greater probability either at *Kalah Shirgat*, or at the ruins of *Ur of the Persians* which is three or four miles below it. *Kalah Shirgat*, in the neighbourhood of which Layard discovered a cylinder containing the records of Tiglath-Pileser the First, is believed to occupy the site of *Assur*, the ancient capital of Assyria.

ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίαις] Equivalent to the σχεδίαι δερμάτιναι ἐξ ἄσκων which are mentioned by Arrian (*Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 157, ed. Blancard). Rafts of the same kind are in constant use on the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and it was the sight of one of them that in all probability suggested the scheme for a pontoon-bridge, the description of which is given in III. 5. §§ 9, 10.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. *The Greeks arrive at the river Zabatus, where a halt is made for the three following days.*

τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν] The name of the river appears in this form in two leading mss, while a third gives Ζάπαντα which is to all appearance a corruption of the reading in the text. The majority of the editors (with the exception however of Dindorf, Kühner and Vollbrecht) have followed the inferior mss, all of which are in favour of the form Ζάβατος. The river is easily identified as the *Lycus* of the older geographers, with the exception of Pliny who calls it the *Zerbis*. The greater Zab is one of the main confluent of the *Tigris* which it joins immediately below *Nimroud*, bringing down at certain seasons of the year a larger body of water than the main stream. It is now known as *Zab Alā*.

ἡμέρας τρεῖς] The passage of the river was deferred for a time owing to the misfortunes and opposition which from this point beset the path of the Greeks. Apparently they followed the course of the

stream for some twenty-five miles from its confluence with the *Tigris*, and then crossed it (III. 3. 6) at what is still (by Layard's account) the principal ford in this part of the river. On the other hand, Col. Chesney maintains that the crossing was effected ('probably in boats', II. 222) at a point close to the junction of the two streams. For further particulars, see note on the word *χαράδραν* (III. 4. 1). In the opinion of the best authorities the spot where the murder of the generals took place was in the immediate neighbourhood of the mound called *Abu-Shitha*, one of the many ruins on the south side of the *Zab*, near its confluence with the *Tigris*, in the plain of *Shumanuk*.

§§ 2—23. *In the hope of allaying the jealousy and distrust which had prevailed between the Greeks and Asiatics, Clearchus obtains an interview with Tissaphernes. The latter meets his promises of friendship with a frankness which disarms his suspicions.*

πρὶν...γενέσθαι] For the constructions of *πρὶν*, see note on IV. 1. 4. The imperfect *έκέλευεν* (for which the inferior MSS give the aorist) may be explained on the analogy of *ώρμῶντο* (I. 10. 1).

§ 4. *οὔτε...έγώ τε*] Kühner calls attention to a slight irregularity in the order of the sentence, the sequence of which would naturally have been as follows: *έπει δέ σκοπῶν οὔτε σε δύναμαι οὔδέν αισθέσθαι...έγώ τε σαφῶς οἶδα κ.τ.λ.* In the majority of these cases we shall find, as I have suggested in an earlier note, that the change is made in order to give special prominence to certain portions of the sentence.

οὔδ' έπινοοῦμεν] 'never even dream of anything of the kind'.

§ 5. *τοὺς μέν...τοὺς δέ*] For this partitive apposition, see note on *διαλείπουσι δ' έκάστη* (I. 7. 15). The relative clause (*οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους...έποίησαν*) was no doubt adopted, as Kühner points out, in order to relieve the sentence of a cumbrous succession of participles: *φοβηθέντας—βουλομένους—ποίησαντας*.

οὔτε μέλλοντας] Bornemann proposes to understand *ποιεῖν*: but the combination of *μέλλειν* with a direct accusative is not uncommon in Plato and the tragedians.

§ 6. *άγνωμοσύνας*] 'misunderstandings': a somewhat unusual force of the word, which occurs more frequently in the secondary senses of 'stubbornness', 'heartlessness', e.g. in the following passages of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles:—

θνητὴν φρονοῦσαν θνητὰ κοῦκ άγνώμονα. (v. 473),

and

μεγάλην μὲν έμοι

τούτων θέμενοι συγγνωμοσύνην,

μεγάλην δέ θεῶν άγνωμοσύνην. (vv. 1264—1266).

§ 7. *οἱ θεῶν...δρκοι*] 'our oaths to the gods': the objective genitive, for which compare *τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον* which follows in the same section, and a note on *δὲ αἰσχύνην Κίρου* (III. 1. 10). It is true that in the phrase *τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον* the genitive may be understood in a subjective sense, i.e. the 'hostility of the gods': but passages like the following are in favour of the former explanation:—

κοῦτοι νόσον γ' έπακτὸν έξαρούμεθα

θεοῖσι δυσμαχοῦντες.

(Soph. *Trach.* 490.)

οὔτε ὅποι ἄν] These words, which appear (with slight variations) in the four leading MSS, are omitted by Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors on the ground that they interfere with the regularity of the sentence, and contain in a weaker form the substance of the clauses which follow : οὔτ' εἰς πόλιν σκότος ἀποδράη κ.τ.λ.

Kühner, on the other hand, retains them in deference to the manuscript authority, and in the belief that an addition so suggestive of carelessness on the part of the writer is little likely to have been made by a later hand. An additional argument in favour of the genuineness of the text might surely be found in the extraordinary character of the phrase ἀπὸ πόλου ἂν τάχους...ἀποφύγοι, a combination which would be intolerable, if it were not relieved by the presence of some intermediate clause.

ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίη] Weiske and Krüger strangely enough propose to take these words in the following order : εἰς ὅπως ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἂν ἀποσταίη, a needless perversion of the natural sequence. With ἀποσταίη we may supply τὸν πόλεμον or some equivalent word, comparing for the construction a passage in Xen. *De Venat.* III. 3, αἱ ἄψυχοι δὲ λείπουσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀφίστανται τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὰς σκιὰς.

§ 8. παρ' οὓς] The reading παρ' οἷς is found in one good MS, and preferred by the majority of the editors. But the accusative presents no real difficulty, as there is a slight idea of motion implied in the verb κατεθέμεθα, 'into whose keeping we consigned the friendship we had contracted'

τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων] Neuter : 'of human agencies'.

§ 9. σὺν μὲν γάρ σοι] The same arguments are employed by Clearchus in an earlier speech (I. 3. 6), the language of which is plainly borrowed from the farewell of Andromache in the sixth Iliad.

πᾶσα...ἡ ὁδὸς] The passage would gain greatly in rhetorical effect, and also in symmetry, by the omission of the article, which does not appear in the corresponding clauses. It is retained, however, by Kühner, Vollbrecht, and the majority of the editors.

φοβεράτατον δ' ἐρημία] For the neuter adjective, see note on ἀλεεινόν (IV. 4. 11). Mr Taylor calls attention to the evident oxymoron which is intended by the combination ἐρημία μεστή. In Latin, the stock illustration for this rhetorical figure is the *splendide mendax* of Horace : in Greek, *ἔσια πανουργήσασα* 'having wrought a holy crime' (Soph.) is a good example : while in English we have Tennyson's well-known lines :

*His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.*

§ 10. εἰ δὲ δὴ] nay, supposing that in a fit of madness we were actually to slay thee'. The δὴ is equivalent to *adeo*, and has an intensifying force, as in II. 6. 20, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀρετὴν ἀσκούντες στασιάξουσιν, and Thuc. III. 40, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ προσήκον ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε τοῦτο δρᾶν, in neither of which passages is there any trace of the temporal sense which in this connexion Kühner would assign to the particle.

ἄλλο τι ἂν ἤ...πολεμήσομεν] Elliptical for ἄλλο τι γένοιτ' ἂν ἤ... Cf. IV. 7. 5, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παρίεναι; The word ἔφεδρος corresponds to the Latin *tertiarius* or *secutor*, i.e. the reserve combatant who sits to watch the duel till his own turn comes to fight the champion. Thus, in Soph. *Ai.* 610, Ajax is spoken of as 'needing no avenger' (μόνος ὦν ἔφεδρος), a phrase which possibly suggested to Martial the compliment paid to a famous gladiator in V. 24. 8,

Hermes suppositivus sibi ipsi.

It is remarkable that in the present passage no less than five good MSS give ἔφορον in place of ἔφεδρον, a reading which Bornemann is inclined to retain in the sense assigned to the word by Hesychius: Ἐφορος i.e. ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπιστάτης, θεατής.

§ 11. τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα] The transfer to Tissaphernes of the authority held by Cyrus over the cities on the coast is noticed in *Hell.* III. 1. 3, and also by Diodorus (xiv. 26).

πολεμία ἐχρήτο] 'found opposed to him'. For this force of χρᾶσθαι, cf. πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο (IV. 6. 3), and a similar employment of the verb *uti* in Latin.

§ 12. ἀλλὰ μὴν] Leunclavius proposes to read ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γε, by which the irregularity is avoided, and the construction becomes an ordinary example of the use of ἀλλὰ in elliptical sentences. The MSS, however, are unanimous in favour of the reading of the text, which may readily be explained by understanding a clause to this effect: 'But in very truth (we can help you in our turn)'. Similar instances occur in V. 7. 31, and more especially in III. 2. 11, ἐπειτα δέ—ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς...ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν κ.τ.λ.

§ 13. Μυσούς...Πισίδας] Compare the statements in I. 6. 7, and I. 1. 11. With Πισίδας we must of course supply λυπηροῦς ὄντας from the previous clause. Τοιαῦτα, sc. λυπηρά.

τεθυμωμένους] For the revolt of Egypt, see note on II. 1. 14.

ἂν κολάσσεσθε] I have already noticed the difficulty involved by the combination of a definite tense like the future indicative with a particle which marks in the strongest possible form that the result is a *conditional* one. The natural emendation would be κολάσαισθε, which is adopted by Vollbrecht, but, as there is no trace of hesitation on the part of the MSS, I prefer to retain the text, subject to the usual explanation, which separates ἂν from κολάσσεσθε, and refers it to a suppressed hypothesis to be supplied from the participle χρῆσάμενοι.

§ 14. ὡς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης] Sub. ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, which is added in the succeeding clause.

ἀναστρέφω] Dindorf proposes to replace ἂν before ἀναστρέφω on the supposition that it has been merged in the initial letters of the verb. It is, however, a favourite custom with one author to omit the particle in cases where it may be readily supplied from a previous clause (cf. I. 6. 2, ἡ κατακάνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι). Add to which, in the present instance its introduction before ἀναστρέφω would be intolerable on the score of euphony. Ἀναστρέφειν corresponds in sense to the Latin *versari*, 'to move', 'conduct one self', and therefore simply 'to live'.

§ 15. τὸ ὄνομα, τίς .. ἐστὶ] The construction is explained by Mac-michael as an *anacoluthon*. It is rather a combination of two modes of expression, the simple genitive which we should expect after ὄνομα being amplified into a relative clause directly dependent upon the verb ἀκούσασαι.

ἀπημείβεθ] One of the unclassical forms on which we have commented in the note to ἀπεκρίθη (II. i. 23).

§ 16. ἀλλ' ἦδομαι μὲν] For this use of ἀλλά. cf. I. 8. 17 ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τὸν ὄρνιν, and a note on ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις (II. i. 20). καὶ ἀκούων] 'even to hear'.

§ 18. ἐπιτηδεῖω] The majority of the commentators make the infinitive ἐπιτιθεσθαι directly dependent on ἐπιτηδεῖω. It may also be *explanatory* of it, 'so that we could attack you', and I prefer to understand it thus, as the verb is brought into relation with its proper subject.

ταμιεύεσθαι] 'on the banks of which we shall have it in our own power to regulate what portion of your troops we may choose to encounter'. In its primary sense the verb ταμιεύεσθαι signifies to 'dis-pense rations' in the capacity of a steward or manager: hence to 'economise' or 'husband one's strength'. Its secondary meanings are admirably illustrated by the following passages: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ἐς ὅσον βουλόμεθα ἄρχειν (Thuc. VI. 18), and παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὥσθ' ὁπόσοις ἂν βουλόμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι (Cyr. III. 3. 47).

διαπορεύοιμεν] This active form is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, διαβιβάζειν being the verb usually employed in this connexion.

§ 19. τό γέ τοι πῦρ] 'yet remember that fire at all events is master'. The rhythm of the sentence would distinctly suggest the omission of τοι, which appears moreover in but two of the MSS. It is retained, however, by Kühner, Vollbrecht, and the majority of the editors.

§ 20. μηδένα] The student will notice that μηδένα and not οὐδένα is the negative employed, because the participle ἔχοντες, with which it is connected, forms the conditional clause in the sentence.

πρὸς θεῶν...πρὸς ἀνθρώπων] A somewhat unusual expression, for which παρὰ θεοῖς...παρὰ ἀνθρώποις is more commonly employed. See note on I. 6. 6, ὅτι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω.

§ 21. ἀπόρων ἐστὶ...οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι] 'it is characteristic of desperate men...to elect to work by perjury': a not uncommon idiom, arising from the combination of two constructions, ἀπόρων ἐστὶν ἐθέλειν and ἀποροὶ εἰσιν οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι. Another example occurs in II. 6. 6, ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις...αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν, to which we may add the following from Thuc. IV. 18, σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν, οἵτινες τάγαθὰ ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο.

§ 22. τὸ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι] I have adopted with Kühner and Vollbrecht the reading which appears in the four leading MSS: the remainder give the genitive (τοῦ...γενέσθαι), which may be regarded with fair probability as the correction of some copyist who wished to establish a connexion between τούτου and the clause which follows. Matthiæ, Bornemann and other good authorities accept this

latter view in regard to the interpretation of the sentence, retaining however the accusative (τὸ...γενέσθαι), which they justify on the analogy of a passage in Plat. *Lach.* 190 E, (ἐγὼ αἷτιος τό σε ἀποκρίνασθαι). The counter theory—that the clause in question is explanatory of Ἔρως rather than of τούτου—is maintained by Kühner, whose arguments appear to me conclusive, whether we consider the rhythm of the passage which distinctly separates τούτου from the words which follow, or the unusual character of the phrase ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως, which necessitates the addition of some qualifying clause. Translate therefore as follows: ‘Be well assured that the cause of all this is my intense desire (first) to be true to the cause of the Greeks, and (secondly) to return to the coast supported, in gratitude for my services, by those alien troops who, even as hirelings, were the mainstay of Cyrus during his march to the interior’.

§ 23. ὁρθὴν ἔχειν] The τιάρα or κίδαρις was surrounded by a blue and white band (cf. Curt. III. 3. 19). It was worn in a sloping position (κεκλιμένῃ) by the inferior Persian authorities: the τιάρα ὀρθῇ being reserved for the king alone. The phrase τιάραν ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἔχειν is at best a stilted one, and means apparently that, with devoted followers, even a private individual may entertain the feelings, and perhaps wield the authority, of an actual king. Kühner regards it as an intimation that Tissaphernes was already scheming to supplant Artaxerxes on the Persian throne: a suggestion which is destructive, I think, of the antithesis, the point of which lies in the fact that Tissaphernes is careless of the title of king if only he can exercise a kingly power. Precisely the same sentiment occurs in a fine passage of Soph. *O. T.* 587,

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ἱμεῖρων ἔφυν
τύραννος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τύραννα δρᾶν,
οὐτ’ ἄλλος ὅστις σωφρονεῖν ἐπίσταται.

§§ 24—31. *Persuaded by the arguments of Tissaphernes, Clearchus consents to a conference at which the parties who had caused this jealousy and suspicion are to be denounced and punished. With considerable difficulty he prevails upon five generals and twenty captains to accompany him. On arriving at the tent of Tissaphernes the generals are admitted into his presence: the rest remain outside.*

εἶπεν] sc. ὁ Κλέαρχος. See note on ὅπως...φυλάττοιεν (I. 4. 5) for a still more remarkable change in the subject of the verb. The juxtaposition of εἰπὼν...εἶπεν may be instanced as an example of careless composition, as also λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας in the following section.

τοιούτων ἡμῶν...ὑπαρχόντων] ‘when we have such substantial motives for friendship’.

§ 25. ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ] In the two leading mss the words ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ follow ἐλθεῖν: in the remainder they precede it. Both Kühner and Vollbrecht prefer the former collocation, but differ materially in the punctuation of the passage: Kühner connecting the phrase ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ with what precedes, Vollbrecht with what follows. I entirely agree with the latter view, as the expression εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι...ἐλθεῖν is sufficiently complete in itself, while the words λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ

λέγοντας are weak without the addition of an adverb or its equivalent. Again, as regards construction, the combination ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ ἔλθειν is, I think, more open to objection than ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ λέγειν which Kühner regards with suspicion.

§ 27. φιλοφρονούμενος] 'courteously', 'to shew his friendliness'. The participle occurs again in the same sense in IV. 5. 29. For the force of τότε, see note on IV. 1. 17.

διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει] 'that he was on very friendly terms with Tissaphernes'. If we accept the reading as genuine, it is clear we must understand the passage in the above sense, though φιλικῶς διακεῖσθαι τινι usually means 'to be kindly affected towards a person'. Various alterations in the text have been suggested (e.g. διακεῖσθαι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, *Schneider*; διακεῖσθαι αὐτῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ, *Schaefer*), but the passages quoted by Kühner and Krüger (more especially Thuc. VIII. 68, Dem. περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρόνῃσιν p. 99. 40) shew that the phrase occasionally denotes a reciprocal feeling, viewed in relation to either or both of the parties, as the context may require.

οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι] The order is as follows: (οὔτοι) τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι.

§ 28. ὑπώπτευν] The cause of the feud between Clearchus and Menon is to be looked for in connexion with the events recorded in I. 3. 21, on which occasion, in return for his services in securing the allegiance of the Greek troops, Clearchus was promoted to the first place in the favour of Cyrus, supplanting Menon who had hitherto been treated as the chief authority in the camp. Cf. Ctesias § 58 Κλέαρχω ἅπαντα ὁ Κῦρος συνεβούλευε, τοῦ δὲ Μενῶνος λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν. In I. 5. 11 of the *Anabasis* we find the jealous feeling, which prevailed between the two leaders, breaking out into open animosity and communicating itself to their respective troops: from which point the narrative supplies us with abundant intimations that Menon had entered on a system of intrigue with Ariaeus and Tissaphernes in the hope of recovering his former influence. Under these circumstances, Clearchus avails himself of the first opportunity for discrediting his rival, though he can scarcely have been blind to the attendant risks. As Mr Taylor suggests in his note, the jealousy between the two generals, if nothing had occurred to arrest it, would in all probability have been fatal to the success of the Retreat.

§ 29. πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην] 'should be attached to him'. For the addition of the negative after ἀντιλέγειν and similar verbs, cf. Soph. *Antig.* 443:

καὶ φημί δράσαι κοῦκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μῆ.

§ 30. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν] For another and different account, cf. Ctes. § 60, τό τε πλῆθος διὰ Μένωνος ἀπατηθὲν κατηνάγκασε καὶ ἄκοντα Κλέαρχον πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην παραγενέσθαι, καὶ Πρόξενος ὁ Βοιωτίας αὐτὸς ἤδη προαλοὺς ἀπάτην συμπαρήγει. This version of the story is not in itself an unreasonable one. The risk may have become plainer in the eyes of Clearchus: and it would thus be left for Menon at the last to enforce an arrangement in which he would naturally

have supposed that his own interests were secure. It is more probable, however, that Ctesias, who was no doubt intimate with Menon in the Persian camp, exaggerates the influence of his friend in effecting the capture.

ὥς εἰς ἀγορὰν] 'itaque inermes', Krüger.

§ 31. ἐπὶ [ταῖς] θύραις ἔμενον] Vollbrecht omits the article, while Kühner, on the authority of a single MS, inserts it. At the commencement of the section (ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους) its presence is clearly required, for the phrase is a technical one as in I. 2. 11. But in the case we are considering the article is unnecessary, the words being used in a purely general sense.

§§ 32—37. *At a given signal the generals are arrested, while their followers outside are cut down. The disaster is reported by one of their number who escapes; immediately after which a deputation arrives from the Persian camp, headed by Ariæus and Mithridates.*

συνελαμβάνοντο...κατεκόπησαν] Observe the change of tense. In III. 1. 2, where the historian reverts to the occurrence, συνειλημμένοι and ἀπολώλεσαν are the words used.

ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν...πάντας ἔκτεινον] Cf. I. 1. 5, ὅστις δ' ἀφικνούτο... πάντας οὕτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο.

§ 33. ἡμφιγνόουν] ἡμφεγνόουν Vollbrecht, a form suggested by ἡμφηγνόουν which appears in two good MSS. Moreover in Plato we have the doubly augmented aorist (ἡμφεγνόησα).

§ 35. ἦσαν] The action of the verb is thrown back to the period when Cyrus was still alive. See note on the use of the imperfect in I. 10. 1.

§ 37. φυλαττόμενοι] 'on their guard', 'cautiously'.

τὰ περὶ Προξένου] Cf. III. 1. 4, where an account is given of the intimate relations which existed between Xenophon and Proxenus. Krüger, in an elaborate note on this use of περὶ with the genitive, shews that, while τὰ περὶ Πρόξενον would simply state 'the fate of Proxenus' as an independent fact, the genitive is employed when it becomes a matter of interest or enquiry to others.

§§ 38—end. *Ariæus summons the Greeks to surrender. After an indignant reply from Cleanor, a proposition is made by Xenophon to the effect that Proxenus and Menon should be allowed to revisit the camp in the capacity of mediators. To this the envoys return no answer.*

ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον] A pregnant form of expression for (ἐλθόντες) εἰς ἐπήκοον ἔστησαν. Cf. προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον (IV. 4. 5).

ἔχει τὴν δίκην] 'has his deserts'.

ὁ βασιλεὺς] The addition of the article, which appears in the three leading MSS, is unusual. It is admirably explained by Kühner as taking the place of the possessive pronoun in the sense of 'our King'.

τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου] The position of the article, which is to be taken in connexion with δούλου, is distinctly open to objection. The collocation, however, is a favourite one with our author. Cf. V. 5. 18 οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων, *Hell.* VII. 1. 13 τῶν ἐκείνων δούλων, and many other passages. Exception might also be taken on the ground of careless writing to the juxtaposition of αὐτοῦ and ἐκείνου in reference to the same individual: though it can of course be argued that the

concluding words of the sentence are only a comment by Ariaeus on the statement which precedes. I have quoted in the Introduction a very similar passage from I. 6. 6, in which the words αὐτῷ and τοῦτω are open to the same objection.

§ 39. ἡμῖν] Macmichael makes the dative depend on ὁμόσαντες, Weiske on τοὺς αὐτοὺς, in which case it represents the ordinary phrase for concluding an offensive and defensive alliance. I have little doubt that both suggestions are right, and that the word is purposely placed, like many others, where it may do double duty in the sentence. The rhythm of the passage will, at any rate, preclude its separation from ὁμόσαντες.

(οὓς)] The manuscript reading is ὡς, which is omitted by Vollbrecht, Schneider, Porson and others on the authority of one inferior MS, while Kühner does not even bracket it, though he suggests that οὕτως may possibly have been the original word. But, if a change is required in this direction, ὥδε would be a less violent alteration, and in a deictic sense would be peculiarly forcible in connexion with the context. Jacobs retains ὡς, which he regards as an exclamation, (*quam turpiter!* *quam impie!*), while others treat it as an awkward *anacoluthon*, which closes the sentence as though ὡς and not οὔτινες had occurred in the earlier clause. In the present edition I have ventured to read οὓς instead of ὡς, which, with the slightest possible deviation from the MSS, restores the connexion between the clauses and increases the force of the climax: 'having betrayed, I say, the very men with whom your oath was taken—the men whom you have now slain—and with them all the rest of us' etc.

§ 41. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις] 'thereupon'.

ἔλκε τὰς σπονδάς] For the force of the imperfect, see note on ἦσαν in § 35.

Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων] We might have expected Πρόξενον δὲ καὶ Μένωνα in direct connexion with πένεψατε, but the mention of their names is rendered more emphatic by this species of attraction. Kühner compares III. 2. 12, and a passage in I. 1. 5 (βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο κ.τ.λ.), the latter of which is not altogether a case in point.

φίλοι γε ὄντες] 'since by your account they are friends'.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—15. *Life and character of Clearchus.*

ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλέα] The treatment of the generals, prior to their execution, is described at length in Thirlwall (Vol. IV. p. 324). Menon was allowed to linger for a year before he was put to death: the others, with the exception of Clearchus, were executed after a short period of imprisonment. Parysatis used every effort with the King to induce him to spare the life of Clearchus, but was unable to counteract the influence of Statira—the wife of Artaxerxes—who secured his death.

ἐκ πάντων] 'on the part of all', a use of the preposition which is frequent in poetry. The theory that ἐκ is to be taken in close con-

nexion with the adverb *ὁμολογουμένως*, 'avowedly by all who knew him', may perhaps have been founded on the analogy of the phrase which introduces the description of the character of Cyrus in I. 9. 1, *ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογείται τῶν Κίρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι*.

§ 2. *παρέμενεν*] The reading of the two best mss. The remainder give the aorist *παρέμεινεν*. The verb, as Kühner notices, cannot be taken in its literal sense, as it is clear from the account in the *Hellenics* (I. 1. 36, I. 3. 15), that Clearchus was frequently parted from them during his missions to Byzantium, Chalcedon, and elsewhere. Trans. therefore: 'he was true to their cause'.

ὡς ἐδύνάτο] 'by whatever means', 'in what way he could', a suggestion that he had employed deception or intrigue in securing this command.

Περὶνθου] Perinthus was a town of Thrace, situated on the Propontis to the west of Byzantium. It was afterwards called *Heraclea*, a name which survives in the modern *Herakli*.

§ 3. *ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ*] The employment of the genitive absolute in place of a participle in direct agreement with the subject has been noticed in connexion with *οἰκισθέντος* (V. 3. 7). The object of the idiom is clearly to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement.

ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ] Schneider, who is followed by the majority of the authorities, infers from the context that the Isthmus of *Corinth* is meant. But, considering the localities which are dealt with in the passage, we should surely have expected the addition of some qualifying epithet, if the allusion had been to any other than the Thracian peninsula. Moreover, by rendering the words *εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον* 'into the Hellespont', any difficulty in reconciling the two statements will be easily removed.

§ 4. *ἐκ τούτου*] 'in consequence of this'. The sentence which follows has been the subject of much discussion among the commentators. Whether we understand the verb *ἔπεισε* (with Weiske) as signifying that the war against Artaxerxes was undertaken at the instigation of Clearchus, or as simply referring to the monetary grant by which Cyrus secured his services, which is the suggestion of Schneider, it is certain that in neither case do we find any detailed account of the transaction, either in I. 1. 9 (the passage which deals with the circumstances) or in any other portion of the *Anabasis*. It is very possible that our author himself imagined that the details in question had been given in connexion with the former passage: a solution which is accepted as satisfactory by Kühner, Krüger, and Macmichael.

§ 5. *οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ ἐτράπετο*] Cf. I. 3. 3, *μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρείκους, οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθηυπάθησα*.

ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων] For the force of the preposition see note on I. 1. 9, where the same phrase is used in describing the transaction.

ἀπὸ τούτου] 'from that time', 'thenceforth'. Cf. *ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου*, 'from the first' (IV. 3. 9). The usual order of the phrase *ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν* is here inverted. Occasionally the verbs are used separately, e.g.

in IV. i. 8 (ὧν οὐδέν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες), where no mention had been made of *live* stock, to which the word ἄγειν would particularly refer. Macmichael instances the Scotch saying 'to reave and harry' as the modern equivalent of the phrase.

αὔ] 'in turn': i.e. in contrast with his previous campaigns which he had conducted single-handed.

§ 6. ὥστε πολεμεῖν] 'on the understanding that it be for war'. Cf. ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν (v. 6. 26), 'on the stipulation that they left the country by sea'.

§ 7. φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν] Answered by καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, the intermediate clause (καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους) being explanatory of φιλοκίνδυνος.

§ 8. ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τρόπου] 'considering the character of his disposition'. The καὶ before ἐκείνος appears to me unnecessary, and indeed inexplicable. It is found, however, in all the MSS, either as a separate word or in crasis with ἐκείνος.

ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν] 'to inspire those about him with the conviction that Clearchus must be obeyed'. The substitution of the proper name in place of ἐαντῷ adds so decidedly to the force of the statement that it is surprising to find it regarded as a difficulty by some of the commentators. A remarkable illustration of the present passage is quoted by Krüger from the *Oeconomics* (XXI. 7): ἐρῶμένοι ἀρχοντες γίγνονται, οἳ ἂν δύνωνται ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀκολουθητέον εἶναι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς κινδύνου.

§ 9. ἔσθ' ὅτε] An equivalent for ἐνίοτε, the repetition of which is by this means avoided. In the following sentence, γνώμη means 'by rule', 'on principle'.

§ 10. ἔφασαν] The saying is quoted as the utterance of Clearchus by Frontinus and Valerius Maximus, while at the same time they misapprehend its character in thinking that it was formally addressed to his troops. No doubt, as Dindorf suggests, it was casually uttered in the course of conversation.

φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι] 'abstain from injuring friends'.

§ 11. ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσώποις] I entirely agree with Kühner, who retains ἄλλοις in the text on the authority of all the leading MSS. It is omitted, however, by the majority of the best editors, including Vollbrecht, Krüger, Bornemann and Dindorf, though the employment of the plural προσώποις in place of the singular and in reference to a single individual would appear to be altogether indefensible. But, accepting the phrase ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσώποις as unquestionably genuine, we shall find a difficulty in determining its precise meaning. Usually it is taken to signify that 'his gloominess seemed cheerful among (i.e. by comparison with) the faces of the rest'. But the context, I think, suggests another and more forcible rendering: 'his gloominess then shone as a bright light (reflected) in the faces of those around him'.

τὸ χαλεπὸν...χαλεπὸν] Observe the play upon the active and passive meanings of the adjective.

§ 12. *ἀρχομένους*] = ὥστε ἄρχεσθαι, 'to be under their command'. Kühner accepts this reading as intelligible, though he agrees with Hutchinson that the dative ἀρχομένοις would be preferable, and more in

keeping with the verb *ἔξειη*. To me both the one reading and the other seems equally indefensible, and the substitution of the future for the present participle, which is proposed by Schaefer, is, I venture to think, a necessary alteration, if we are to understand the passage in this sense. Both the context, however, and the rhythm of the sentence irresistibly suggest that *ἀρχοντας*, and not *ἀρχομένους*, is the true reading: in which opinion I am glad to find myself supported by the authority of Dindorf.

§ 13. *καὶ γὰρ οὖν* 'for as a matter of fact'. See note on *καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν...καρβάτιναι* (IV. 5. 14).

§ 14. *ἤρξαντο* If the reference were a purely indefinite one, we should have expected, as Kühner observes, the frequentative optative. By employing the indicative, it is clear that the author had definitely in view the early victories of Clearchus.

ἥδη μεγάλα ἦν 'powerful were then the agencies that tended to make his soldiers efficient'.

§ 15. For *οὐ μάλα, οὐ πάνυ* and similar combinations, see note on I. 8. 14.

§§ 16—20. *The character of Proxenus.*

Γοργία The celebrated rhetorician. Diodorus indeed calls him the inventor of rhetoric, but his true position has been more accurately defined by Cicero in the opening chapters of the *Orator*. In the history of his times he is principally famous as the ambassador who secured for *Leontini* the assistance of the Athenians in her war against *Syracuse*.

§ 17. *συνεγένετο* The usual Platonic word for denoting the relations between the pupil and the professor: 'when he had attended his course of instruction'.

μὴ ἡτᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν A similar ambition is mentioned amongst the characteristics of Cyrus in I. 9. 11.

§ 18. *μετὰ ἀδικίας...σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ* The phrases are purposely used in contrast: the former and weaker of the two suggesting merely the 'participation in crime', while *σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ* is 'to walk *hand in hand* with justice and honour'.

§ 19. *ἐαυτοῖς* Kühner would connect the pronoun solely with *αἰδῶ*, but, from its position in the sentence, it is intended, I think, to refer likewise to *φόβον*.

τὸ ἀπιστεῖν In poetry *ἀπιστεῖν* is frequently used as an equivalent for *ἀπειθεῖν*. Compare, in particular, the closing passages of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles:—e.g. 1224,

προσθοῦ δάμαρτα, μηδ' ἀπιστήσης πατρί'

and again in 1229,

*...τὸ γὰρ τοι μεγάλα πιστεύσαντ' ἐμοὶ
σμικροῖς ἀπιστεῖν τὴν πάρος συγχεῖ χάριν.*

§ 20. *καλοὶ τε κάγαθοι* For the meaning of the phrase, see note on IV. 1. 19. As regards the form of it, it is clear that Xenophon uses indifferently *καλοὶ κάγαθοι* and *καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί*, though with other writers the former is the favourite combination. In the present instance the latter is preferred by Kühner and Dindorf on the authority of the two leading MSS.

§§ 21—29. *The character of Menon.*

§ 22. τὸ δὲ ἀπλοῦν] 'straightforwardness', 'candour'. For the sentiment, cf. Thuc. III. 82, τὸ δὲ εὖθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη. Indeed the character as a whole suggests important points of comparison with the moral degeneration which attended the development of the factions in Greece (Thuc. III. 80—84).

§ 23. τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων] Kühner explains the construction as a species of attraction, and conceives the sense of the passage to be as follows: τοῖς δὲ συνοῦσι πᾶσιν, ὡς καταγελῶν αὐτῶν, αἰ διελέγετο. I gather, however, from the context that the reference is not so much to conversation *with* his friends as *concerning* them, in which case the construction is a perfectly regular and simple one: 'while, as regards his associates, he always gave one the impression that he was holding them up to ridicule in his conversation'.

§ 24. μόνος] To be connected with εἶδέναι: 'that he alone knew how very easy it was to seize unprotected property'. With this use of μόνος in the sense of 'unus omnium', 'praeter ceteros', compare a similar employment of εἰς (c. g. ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ in I. 9. 12), and again of the Latin *unus*, e.g. in Cat. XXII. 10,

Suffenus unus caprimulgus aut fossor.

§ 25. ὅσους μὲν (ἄν)] The difficulties which are raised by the construction of this sentence have been fully discussed in connexion with the parallel passage of II. 4. 26, ὅσον δ' (ἄν) χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε.

§ 26. πλάσασθαι] Porson follows Suidas, who gives the active form πλάσαι. There is, however, no trace of this reading in the mss, while, as Kühner points out, the middle is the usual voice when the verb is employed in its metaphorical sense of coining *falsehoods*, *calumnies*, etc.

διαγελᾶν] The compound is an unusual one, and, in force, less strong than καταγελᾶν, which often carries with it a suggestion of disparagement and contempt.

τοὺς πρώτους] = τοὺς τότε πρωτεύοντας, 'by calumniating those who at present held that position'.

§ 27. ἐθέλοι ἂν] We can easily supply the condition which is indicated by ἂν: 'and, *if occasion should require*, would be ready to do them an injury'.

κατέλεγεν] 'he reckoned it as a kindness on his part'. καταλέγειν is equivalent to the Latin *imputare*, 'to place to an account'. Cf. Mart. V. 20. 13,

qui nobis percunt et imputantur.

Vollbrecht, Schneider, and Krüger have adopted the frequentative optative ἀφίσταιτο, which appears in place of ἀφίστατο in the edition of Suidas. Kühner retains the imperfect, the force of which has been explained in connexion with ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν (§ 14).

§ 28. τάδε] 'what follows'. The sentence at first sight would convey the impression that Xenophon wished to modify his previous imputations against the character of Menon. The reverse is rather the

case, the train of thought being something as follows: 'I may wrong him, perhaps, by my estimate of his *motives*, but, as regards the *acts* of his life, mistake is impossible'.

στρατηγὲν διεπράξατο] 'he secured the command of the mercenary troops'.

§ 29. τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν] There is considerable doubt as to the actual fate of Menon, more especially as Ctesias does not allude to his death in express terms, as he would naturally have done, had he been cognisant of the fact, if only for the purpose of contrasting it with the honourable fate of his friend Clearchus.

§ 30. *The characters of Agias and Socrates.*

κατεγέλα] See note on διαγελᾶν in § 26.

NOTES.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου] So Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors in place of ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀναβάσει which is preferred by Kühner on the authority of four leading mss. There is a slight difficulty in regard to the connexion and interpretation of the words ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς. White joins them closely with ἐγένετο, 'took place during the truce', and punctuates the passage accordingly; but, standing where they do in the sentence, it is better, I think, to explain them as referring to ἀπύοντων no less than to ἐγένετο.

§§ 2, 3. *Despondency of the Greeks upon a review of their position.*

συνειλημμένοι... ἀπολώλεσαν] Compare συνελαμβάνοντο and κατέκλπησαν, which are the words used in II. 5. 32, where an account of the occurrence is given. Clearchus, Proxenus, Menon, Agias and Socrates were the generals who fell. The scene of the treachery is placed by Layard in the plain of *Shumanuk*, on the south side of the *Zab*, near its confluence with the Tigris.

ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ] 'in *very* great perplexity'. For this strengthening force of δὴ, see note on I. 3. 14.

ἐννοοῦμενοι] This use of the participle is a favourite one with Xenophon, and is recognised in the present instance by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of six good mss. The remainder give ἐνθυμούμενοι which is preferred by Poppo and Macmichael, the former of whom suggests that the reading of the text may have arisen from the occurrence of the participle later on in § 3.

ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις] Cf. II. 4. 4 for this Eastern hyperbole. κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς... ἦσαν, 'they had enemies all around them.' The words μύρια στάδια represent, by a fair approximation, the *direct* distance of *Cunaxa* from *Sardes*, though the course taken by the expedition exceeded this by nearly six thousand stades.

ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδὲ ὁδοῦ] 'intervening in their homeward route'. This explanation is adopted by Sturz and others, and is preferable to making the genitive depend on διεῖργον, or supplying αὐτῶν as the correlative term to ὁδοῦ on the analogy of Aristoph. *Achar.* 384. Taken thus by itself, διεῖργον will mean little more than 'lay in their way', 'parted them from the district beyond'.

ὥστ' εὐδηλον ἦν] For the force of ὥστε with the indicative and infinitive, see note on I. 1. 8. Viewed on its own merits, the reading οὐδ' ἂν ἔνα, which is adopted by Macmichael, is preferable to οὐδένα ἂν. Unfortunately, however, the manuscript authority is altogether in favour of the reading of the text.

§ 3. εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν] 'for that evening'. It is clear from the use of the word σῆτος in II. 1. 6 and other passages that its application is not limited to corn or even vegetables. Kühner notices that the reading πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, the correctness of which may be inferred from a parallel passage in IV. 5. 5, is preserved in but two of the MSS; the remainder give πυρὰν ἔκαυσαν, for which πυρὰ ἀνέκαυσαν has been suggested as a probable correction. For the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, 'to their quarters in the camp', see note on the words ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ (IV. 2. 16). It is the place where the arms had been stacked preparatory to forming the encampment.

ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν] for ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ὦν, this omission of the participle with τυγχάνειν being now a recognised idiom in Prose no less than in Verse. Cf. *Anab.* v. 4. 34, and *Soph. Ai.* 9. ξυδον γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἄρτι τυγχάνει. Οὕτω διακείμενοι, 'with these feelings', 'in this state of mind'.

§§ 4—8. *The earlier history of Xenophon, and the advice he received from Socrates relative to the present expedition.*

ἦν δέ τις] 'there was *one* called Xenophon in the army'. For this use of τις in a disparaging or depreciating sense compare in particular *Soph. Oed. Tyr.* 107, τοὺς αὐτοέοντας χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν τινὰς (where the plural τινὰς is a certain emendation for τινά, which is still retained by Dindorf), 'to visit with punishment his murderers—certain persons unknown'. There is nothing to surprise us in this formal introduction of Xenophon's name. It is true that it had more than once been mentioned in the previous books (e.g. I. 8. 15, 16 and II. 1. 12), but always in such casual terms that a careless reader might have passed it almost without notice.

μετεπέμψατο] Observe the force of the middle, 'had sent for him'. Notice also the substitution of the future ποιήσειν in place of the more usual infinitive with ἂν, in order to give greater *certainly* or *reality* to this portion of the proposition, 'if only he would come, he would *do a truth* make him friendly with Cyrus'. Compare the note on διέλθοιεν ... διαβήσονται (IV. 1. 3).

κρίττω] 'a better friend to him than his country had ever been'. 'Preferable', i.e. more worthy of his devotion, has been suggested as an alternative rendering, but the emphatic addition of the word ἐαυτῷ is decisive in favour of the former explanation.

§ 5. ἀνακοινοῦται] Macmichael distinguishes no difference between the active and the middle of this verb. Breitenbach, on the other hand, would translate the active by *consulere*, the middle by *communicare aliquid cum aliquo*. The distinction between the two is really akin to that between συμβουλεύειν and συμβουλεύεσθαι, as the middle voice in both cases implies the *interested motives* of the consulting party. Thus ἀνακοινῶσαι τινι is simply to 'lay the case before' some one, while ἀνακοινοῦσθαι τινι is to 'take his opinion' upon it.

ὑποπτεύσας μὴ] The construction, like that of ἐννοούμενοι in III. 5. 3, is the same as it would be after a verb of *fearing*, the idea being similar in both cases: 'being apprehensive that it might be made a ground of complaint on the part of his city if he became friendly with Cyrus'. The best authorities, with the exception of Kühner, are in favour of omitting the pronoun οἱ after the word πόλεως. It does not appear in the two leading mss, nor is it in any way essential to the construction.

συμπολεμῆσαι] 'to have co-operated vigorously with the Lacedaemonians in the war against Athens'. The allusion is to the negotiations of Lysander, who had been the agent of Cyrus in supplying funds to the Lacedaemonians.

ἐλθόντα] The position of the participle is in favour of ἐλθόντα rather than ἐλθόντι, though the latter reading is supported by the authority of three good mss. Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael prefer the accusative.

§ 6. τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων] It is a commonly received tradition that, in this and similar combinations, the force of the preliminary particle is thrown by attraction on the τίνι. Rather it is placed thus early in the sentence to show the hypothetical character of the succeeding clause, the requisite condition being represented by the double participle: 'to which of the gods he was to pray and sacrifice, and (if he did so) succeed in his travels'. The repetition of ἂν with κάλλιστα would be at once forcible and elegant. It is omitted, however, by Kühner and Vollbrecht, notwithstanding it appears in three out of the five leading mss. For a somewhat similar use of the verb ἀναιρεῖν, see a note on the concluding sentence of VII. 6. 44.

θεοῖς οἷς εἶδει θύειν] 'to sacrifice to the proper divinities': more especially to Zeus, Hermes and Heracles, to whom, in particular, travellers looked for protection and guidance. Such is Kühner's rendering of the passage; but his arguments have failed to convince me that θεοῖς may not be an ordinary instance of attraction for θεούς. Indeed, the statement which follows in § 8 (θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός) implies, in my opinion, that the deities in question were specially named by the oracle: it certainly does not suggest the contrary, as Kühner would seem to infer.

§ 7. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας] 'instead of which he had decided on his own part that he ought to go'.

§ 8. θυσάμενος] For the distinction between θύειν (act.) and θύεσθαι (midd.) see note on IV. 6. 27.

ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν] 'to start on his journey into the interior'. Compare, for this force of ἄνω, the following passage in I. 2. 1, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, and a note in connexion with I. 1. 1. The accusative is referable to the same class as those mentioned in the notes on IV. 4. 1, and IV. 6. 12. συνεστάθη, 'was introduced' to Cyrus.

§§ 9, 10. The device of Cyrus for retaining Xenophon in his service.

συμπροθύμειτο μείναι αὐτόν] The verb συμπροθύμεισθαι, as is clear from the corresponding passage of VII. 1. 5, implies, not merely the desire for a result, but an active co-operation in the means for effecting it.

ἀποπέμψει] So Kühner and Vollbrecht in place of ἀποπέμψειν, which is read or suggested in the two leading mss. The same difficulty occurs in VII. 5. 8, where the mss fluctuate between παραδώσει and παραδώσειν: Kühner, in that case, preferring the latter. If we retain the infinitive with Bornemann we can only explain it as an anacoluthon, or as a combination of two constructions similar to that which meets us again in § 20 of the present chapter.

Πεισίδας] Πεισίδας Macm., but Kühner and Vollbrecht prefer the form given in the text. Cf. I. 1. 11 and I. 2. 1.

§ 10. τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν] 'for he knew nothing of the movement against the king'. δι' αἰσχύνην, 'for fear of losing the respect of Cyrus and their comrades'. The present is a good opportunity for reminding beginners of the difference between the *objective* and the *subjective* genitive. Thus αἰσχύνην Κύρου might either mean the 'shame felt by Cyrus' (subjective) or, as in the present instance, the 'shame felt in regard to Cyrus' (objective).

§§ 11, 12. The narrative of the expedition is resumed. Xenophon's dream and its supposed import.

μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν] ὕπνου is here a partitive genitive representing the entire whole, while the accusative μικρὸν denotes the *part* of the whole which is taken in the present instance. For a similar example see note on οὐ προσέειπεν (IV. 5. 5).

πάσαν] πᾶσα al., a very inferior reading, which has no doubt been introduced in the endeavour to make the construction of ἔδοξεν uniform in the two clauses. Retaining therefore the accusative πᾶσαν, we have ἔδοξεν used as a *personal* verb with σκηπτός, while by a very common idiom we must supply it in an *impersonal* sense with the latter clause of the sentence.

§ 12. βασιλέως] 'in his character of king'. This portion of the dream was unfavourable as suggesting that in this character he would take earthly kings, and in particular the king of Persia, under his care. Add to which, as White remarks, Jupiter was regarded as the founder of the Persian dynasty, and in this capacity is styled Ζεὺς πατρώος in the *Cyrop.* I. 6. 1.

κύκλῳ] is the emphatic word and suggests a second ground for disquietude: 'besides which the fire seemed to blaze all round him'. As regards the construction of the sentence, the optative with μὴ is of course dependent on the verb ἐφοβείτο, while the οὐ directly negatives δύναιτο. Compare note on IV. 7. 11. This usage must be carefully distinguished from other combinations of μὴ and οὐ (cf. II. 3. 11) where the only force of οὐ is to make the negation more emphatic.

§§ 13, 14. The reflections suggested by the dream.

οποῖον τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ] οποῖον τι μέντοι ἐστὶ δὴ is Macmichael's reading, which presents us with an intolerable collocation of particles. The reading of the text, which is adopted by Breitenbach and others on the authority of the mss, is not free from objections on the same ground, and I am much inclined to adopt Schneider's simplified sentence, οποῖον τι μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ κ.τ.λ., which is accepted by Kühner and Vollbrecht.

ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ] 'under the power of the king', 'at the mercy of the king'.

τί ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὐχί...ἀποθανεῖν;] Compare ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπoudάξειν (II. 3. 11). Students will particularly observe this combination of μὴ οὐ with an infinitive in the sense of the Latin *quān* and *quominus*. It must, however, be preceded by a negative either expressed or implied, for which the question τί ἐμποδῶν does duty in the present sentence. Compare τί δῆτα μέλλει μὴ οὐ παρούσαν ἔχειν; (Soph. *Ai.* 540). Akin to this is the use of μὴ οὐ with a participle which likewise necessitates a preceding negative. Cf. *Oed. Tyr.* 12,

.....δυσάλγητος γὰρ αἶν
εἶην τοιάνδε μὴ οὐ κατοικτεῖρων ἔδραν·

where the negative is implied in the compound adjective *δυσάλγητος*.

ἐπιδόντας] in the usual sense of this compound, 'having lived to see'.

§ 14. ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα] For the construction of ὅπως after verbs like σκοπεῖν and παρασκευάζειν, see note on ὅπως μήποτε ἔσται (I. 4. 4).

ἐξόν] A nominative or, by another explanation, an accusative absolute, which, in the case of impersonal verbs, takes the place of the genitive absolute.

τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγόν] 'the representative of what state', or, in other words, 'what state's representative do I expect to undertake this duty?' In this sentence two interrogations, as Kühner points out, are compressed into one. Similarly, in poetry, we often find constructions like the following: τίς πόθεν μολὼν Σοὶ μαρτυρήσει ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κλύειν παρών; (Soph. *Trach.* 421). An allusion is no doubt intended to his own unofficial position in the army, as compared for instance with that of Cheirisophus, who had received his commission direct from Lacedaemon. (Cf. *Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρόντος*, VI. I. 26.)

ἡλικίαν] There is great difficulty in determining the age of Xenophon at the present time. Mitford thinks that he was not yet *thirty*, others that he was now between *thirty* and *forty*: while those who are reluctant to discredit the story that he was saved by Socrates at the battle of Delium contend that he was more than *forty* at the time we are considering. The evidence, as a whole, suggests the conclusion that he was now *about* thirty years old, but those who are interested in the arguments will find them discussed in the introduction to the present edition, and, more fully still, in the *Philol. Mus.* pp. 506—510.

§§ 15—25. *His speech before the assembled officers.*

τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον] Because, as suggested in § 4, he was especially intimate with Proxenus, and shared his quarters in the camp.

§ 16. πρὶν ἐνόμισαν] πρὶν is here followed by an indicative because it refers to a condition which has already taken place. See note on IV. I. 4. The fact that the Persian troops had been secretly preparing themselves for the campaign is cleverly suggested by the use of the verb ἐξέφηναν, 'disclosed their tactics'.

For παρεσκευάσθαι four good MSS give παρασκευάσασθαι, but the remainder, which are in favour of παρεσκευάσθαι, are followed by Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael; add to which, the aorist, had it been the original reading, is little likely to have been displaced in favour of the perfect.

ὡς κάλλιστα] ‘as successfully as possible’. This very common construction is amplified by White into ὅπως οὕτως ἀγωνιούμεθα, ὡς (δυνατὸν ἐστὶ ἀγωνιῆσθαι) κάλλιστα. But the future ἀγωνιούμεθα is all that we need understand with ὡς κάλλιστα to complete the construction.

§ 17. ἀδελφοῦ] Cyrus.

τοῦ ὁμοπατρίου] The article, which is omitted by Kühner but retained by Vollbrecht and Macmichael, is unquestionably rare in this connexion, though the emphasis which it throws on the more forcible of the two adjectives may justify its retention in the passage before us.

καὶ τεθνηκός ἦδη] ‘yes, even after he was dead’, for which καὶ ταῦτα τεθνηκός would have been the more usual phrase. The word ταῦτα is probably omitted because the participle is already rendered sufficiently emphatic by the addition of the adverb ἦδη.

ἡμᾶς δέ] This accusative, in place of the more usual ἡμεῖς, is usually explained on the ground that it is the subject of παθεῖν rather than οἰόμεθα, although, for the sake of emphasis, it is removed from its natural position at the close of the sentence. But even then, as Schneider well observes, ἡμεῖς would grammatically be more correct. It is therefore better to treat it as an anticipatory accusative, which is often inserted for emphasis independently of the construction which follows: ‘while, as for us’, etc.

κηδεμῶν οὐδεῖς] Whereas Cyrus had enjoyed the support and protection of his mother Parysatis.

§ 18. ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι] ‘would he not have recourse to every expedient?’ For the phrase τοῦ [μὴ] στρατεῦσαι, see note on the corresponding passage of II. 4. 3. In the present instance Macmichael inserts the negative on the authority of the leading MS, while Kühner and Vollbrecht follow the remainder in omitting it. In either case the opportunity is a good one for noticing this use of the negative, which is a favourite one with the tragedians. Two explanations are suggested of this common and elegant idiom; (i) that the negative is actually redundant and added only for the sake of emphasis; (ii) that the phrase τοῦ μὴ στρατεῦσαι is complete in itself and introduced in amplification of φόβον, ‘to create alarm, so that they should not ever make war upon him’. For the latter explanation, see note on τὸ μὴ ἦδη εἶναι (IV. 8. 14), and a passage quoted in connexion with II. 4. 3 from Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 1391, both of which favour the supposition that the phrase is grammatically an independent one.

The rhythm of the passage is conclusive against our leaving the enclitic ποτὲ to follow αὐτὸν as the last word in the sentence.

§ 19. διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν] ‘observing in connexion with them’, the sentences which follow taking the place of the accusative which we should have expected with διαθεώμενος. Bornemann virtually adopts this explanation when he regards the sentences which follow as in fact equivalent to simple substantives.

§ 20. ὅποτε ἐνθυμούμην] The optative of *repetition*. See note on IV. 1. 9, and again on IV. 5. 30.

ἦδεν ὅτι] ἦδεν ἔτι Breitenbach, Kühner and Vollbrecht, but the MSS with one single exception are in favour of the text, which may be readily explained as a mixture of the two constructions ἦδεν ὅτι ὀλίγοι

ἔχοιεν and ἦδειν ὀλίγους ἔχοντας. For a similar combination, see note on κρείττον... κλέψαι τι πειράσθαι... μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι (IV. 6. 11), and (if we accept Kühner's reading) the following passage in VII. 5. 8, καὶ τέως μὲν αἰεὶ ἐμέμνητο ὥς... παραδώσειν αὐτῷ Βισάνθην. As regards the construction of the entire paragraph, it will be observed that the sentence introduced by the words ὅτου δὲ ὠνησόμεθα is not dependent on the optative ἐνθυμοίμην, but added in the form of a parenthesis.

πορίζεσθαι... κατέχοντας] 'restrained us from supplying ourselves with provisions in any other way than by purchase'. This is a case in which the author's meaning would have been made more clear by the addition of a negative to πορίζεσθαι, as κατέχειν in this combination might also mean 'binding us down to supply ourselves', and it is only from the context we can gather the right interpretation. In the introduction I have noticed other passages where the Greek presents a similar ambiguity.

§ 21. ἐν μέσῳ] = *in medio*, 'before us'. Lit. 'in the centre of the ring'. The omission of the article with ἅθλα of course marks the predicate: 'as prizes for whichever of us shall prove the better men'. The ἀγωνοθέται were the umpires and presidents of the public games in Greece.

§ 22. τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους] 'oaths to the gods'. For the difference between the *objective* and *subjective* genitive, see note on τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμήν (§ 10).

πολὺ] is usually construed with μείζονι, 'far greater confidence'. But, if so, I cannot account for its position in the sentence, as our author is not as a rule careful for rhythm, which in Thucydides would have suggested a reason for its separation from μείζονι. I should prefer therefore to take πολὺ alone in the sense of 'decidedly', 'unquestionably': 'so that I think we may go to the contest unquestionably with greater confidence than they can'. In confirmation of this view, see notes on μάλα κατὰ πρᾶνοις γηλόφου (I. 5. 8), and a still more remarkable trajection in cap. II. § 15 of the present book.

§ 23. ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας] Not, as White, 'minds more observant of right and more influenced by conscientious motives', but 'hearts more *courageous* because we know the gods are with us'. Macmichael notices several instances of this use of οἱ ἄνδρες, οἱ ἄνθρωποι, in the sense of 'the enemy', e.g. in III. 4. 40, and again in IV. 2. 7.

τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ] 'more exposed to wounds (because their armour was inferior), and more exposed to death (because their constitutions were less hardy)'.

§ 24. ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ] In the combination of ἀλλὰ γὰρ it is often necessary to supply an ellipse, e.g. 'but *enough*, for...', 'but *what need of words* for...', etc. In many cases however, as in the present, the sentence is complete in itself, the order of the words being ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένωμεν, ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐνθυμοῦνται. It may seem unnecessary to remind beginners that πρὸς τῶν θεῶν can only be used in an *apostrophe*, 'I implore you by Heaven'. No mistake, however, is more repeatedly made by advanced students than the use of this and similar phrases in the sense of similar *affirmation*.

τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι] is the genitive after ἀρξωμεν, 'let us begin the task of encouraging our comrades likewise to valour'.

§ 25. ἐξορμᾶν] is probably a neuter, to 'make a move', 'take the initiative' in this direction. Others would treat it as an active, to 'urge the rest to action'.

οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι] οὐδὲν is an adverbial accusative, 'in no wise', as in § 16 of the present chapter, and again in VII. 3. 35, οὐδὲν ἐτι μεθύοντι εὐκώς. In the words οὐ προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, and the contrast which is so clearly implied between ἡλικίαν and ἀκμάζειν we have perhaps our strongest argument for inferring that 430 rather than 445 B.C. was approximately the date of Xenophon's birth. The verb ἐρύκειν is one of the many words which our author has adopted from the language of poetry.

§§ 26—31. *The speech of Apollonides and its reception by the assembly.*

ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα] Kühner and Bornemann retain the word ταῦτα, though the recurrence of the pronoun after so short an interval is objected to by Poppo and Vollbrecht, both of whom omit it on the authority of two good mss. But, in a simple and unstudied narrative like the present, it is not, I think, to be so lightly rejected. A more serious difficulty is presented by the reading ἀρχηγοί, which appears in place of λοχαγοί in five of the leading mss. If we retain it with Kühner (and, by the recognised rule, the rarer word is presumably the more genuine) it is clear from § 15 that we must understand it in this passage as synonymous with λοχαγοί, which Vollbrecht and Macmichael have admitted into their text.

βοιωτιάζων] He was not however a Boeotian by birth, as we can gather from the taunt of Agasias in § 31, but a native of Lydia, who had been the slave of Proxenus in Boeotia, and afterwards received his freedom.

πείσας] Macmichael finds a difficulty in the nominative case, which he explains as put for πείσαντα by attraction to the subject of λέγει. But in truth no explanation is needed, since, on the assumption that the speaker has himself in view as the subject of the participle, πείσας is distinctly the better Greek. See note on ἡμᾶς δὲ at the close of § 17.

ἤρχετο λέγειν] Usually, no doubt, the participle takes the place of the infinitive when the reference is to a state not merely *intended* but *begun*. The rule however is not an invariable one, as we may gather from the constant use by Thucydides of such phrases as ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι in reference to events or periods which were already in progress at the time he was writing.

τὰς ἀπορίας] 'their difficulties'.

§ 27. μεταξὺ] i. e. μεταξὺ λέγοντα, 'breaking in upon his speech'. See note on the use of ἀμα with the participle in IV. 1. 19, and again in IV. 7. 2.

οὐδέ...οὐδέ] 'you do *not even* understand what you see, nor remember what you hear'. White gives the right explanation of the negative, viz. that the former οὐδέ stands for *ne...quidem*, but the wrong translation, 'neither on seeing understand, nor on hearing remember'.

ἐν ταύτῳ] 'yet of a truth you were in company with these officers'.

§ 28. σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν] Here again White has written hastily on the use of *τυγχάνειν* with an accusative in the sense of *obtaining*. In regard to Soph. *Antig.* 778 (τεύξεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν) and similar cases, the infinitive is clearly explanatory, 'she shall get her wish, that she die not', while, of the two examples he cites from the *Anabasis*, the former (I. 4. 15) is really an instance of the *genitive*, and the latter (VI. 4. 32) is a wrong reference.

§ 29. οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν] 'is it not true that they are beaten, goaded, outraged and not even allowed to die, albeit, methinks, they long eagerly for death?'

πάλιν] Notice the position of this word, which by a device very common with Thucydides and other writers is placed where it may do double duty in the sentence, first with *ἰόντας* and again with *πεῖθειν*. Its force, I think, has been entirely misapprehended by Grote, when he infers from it that Apollonides may have been one of those who had used fainthearted language in the conversation with Phalinus shortly after the death of Cyrus (II. 1. 14).

§ 30. προσιῆσθαι εἰς ταῦτό] 'not to admit this fellow into communion with ourselves, but, having deprived him of his post, to pack baggage upon him and employ him in that capacity (i.e. ὡς σκευοφόρῳ)'.
 § 31. ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ὦτα τετυνημένον] either as a punishment for theft, or, more probably, for the admission of ear rings. Cf. Juv. I. 102, who decries the custom as typical of Eastern luxury. The word *Λυδῶν* may be taken in its literal sense as describing the man's nationality, or else, like *Θρᾷξ* and similar adjectives, as a mere equivalent for *δοῦλος*. Kühner is in favour of the former view.

§ 32—end. *A council of war with the speeches of Hieronymus, Xenophon and Cheirisophus, and the names of the officers chosen.*
 ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο] 'wherever he was missing'. Cf. III. 3. 5, ἔχετο ἀπὶ τῶν νυκτός, 'was missing one fine night', and again IV. 6. 3, τῆς νυκτός ἀποδρὰς ἔχετο. Notice the substitution of ὁπόθεν for ὅπου to suit the verb οἴχοιτο.

§ 33. ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὼν] 'about a hundred *in all*', as it is usually rendered, though it may be questioned whether this represents the force of the article, which is often a purely formal adjunct in connexion with numerals. Cf. πελτασταὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους (I. 2. 9), ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι (I. 7. 10), and in particular ἀμφὶ τὰ δέκα (VI. 3. 2). In the present passage, moreover, the ordinary sense of the article is also, I think, the more forcible: 'the number of officers present amounted to the usual total of one hundred'. See note on οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς in cap. II. 18 of the present book. The phrase μέσαι νύκτες occurs again in I. 7. 1.

§ 35. ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις] 'at the mercy of the barbarians'. See note on § 13.

§ 36. τοσούτοι ὄντες] The force of these words is considerably strengthened if we separate them by punctuation from those which follow, and regard them as added by way of emphasis, 'you who have now met together, *all you*, I say, *who stand before me*'.

καιρόν] 'responsibility'.

στρατιῶται πάντες οὗτοι] This order of the words, which is preferred by Bornemann and Macmichael, is more effective, and at the

same time more rhythmical, than *στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες*, which appears in some of the editions. In reading *βλέπουσι* for *ἀποβλέπουσι* I have followed Kühner and Vollbrecht, both of whom prefer the simple verb on the authority of four leading MSS.

ἀθυμούντας] Kühner prefers *ἀθύμους*, which appears in two good MSS and would present no difficulty, as the participle is often omitted after verbs which indicate *sensation* or *perception*.

§ 37. *διαφέρειν τι τούτων*] 'should in a measure excel the rest'. The genitive after *διαφέρειν* and similar verbs is due to the idea of comparison contained in them. We have another example of this in *τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε* a few lines below.

ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί] The arrangement of the sentence, and also the omission of the word *ταξίαρχοι* in corresponding passages, are strongly in favour of Krüger's suggestion that a *τάξις* consisted of two *λόχοι*, and that the senior of the two *λοχαγοί* was also the *ταξίαρχος*. On the other hand, it is possible that the words *τάξις* and *ταξίαρχος* may be used technically in special reference to the *light-armed* troops.

ἀξιούν δεῖ ὑμᾶς] *Not* 'you yourselves should make it your duty to be braver men than the soldiery at large', as it is commonly translated, *but*, 'we may fairly claim from you on your part that you should be braver'.

§ 38. *οὐδὲν ἂν*] Notice the position of *ἂν* after the emphatic word of the sentence. *ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν*, 'to speak summarily', lit. 'as one might say who had summed the matter up'. For a similar construction, see note on *προϊοῦσι* in III. 2. 22.

ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν] For this and the following passage compare Thucyd. II. 89: *καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν περὶ πλείστου ἡγείσθε, ὃ ἔς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν συμφέρει καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐχ ἥκιστα.*

εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ] Here again we may find an exact parallel in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 672 ff.

*ἀναρχίας γὰρ μείζον οὐκ ἔστιν κακόν.
αὕτη πόλεις τ' ὄλλυσιν, ἥδ' ἀναστάτους
οἴκους τίθησιν· ἥδε σὺν μάχῃ δορὸς
τροπὰς καταρρήγνυσιν· τῶν δ' ὀρθομένων
σώζει τὰ πολλὰ σώμαθ' ἡ πειθαρχία.*

§ 40. *οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων*] 'insomuch that, while they are in this frame of mind, I do not know what use one could make of them'.

§ 42. *οὔτε πλήθος...οὔτε ἰσχύς*] Here again we are naturally reminded of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (56, 57), and from this point to the close of the speech every successive sentence, in form no less than in sentiment, is suggestive of the tragedians, while occasional words (e.g. *μαστεύουσι* in § 43) are directly borrowed from poetry.

For the phrase *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς...ἐρρωμενέστεροι*, see note on § 23.

τούτους ὁρῶ] Observe the change which is made in the structure of the sentence. In strict correctness the sequence should have been as follows: *οὗτοι δὲ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουῦνται*, in place of which we have the same idea given in a clearer and more emphatic form: *τούτους ὁρῶ...ἀφικνουμένους*.

§ 46. ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε] For the position of the adverb ἤδη, see note on πάλιν in § 29. συγκαλοῦμεν is the Attic future by contraction from συγκαλέσομεν.

§ 47. μὴ μέλλουτο] ‘might not be delayed’. For the use of μέλλειν in the passive voice, cf. Thucyd. v. 111, and again Dem. Phil. I. 50, εἴτ’ ἐν ὄσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—8. *The soldiers are assembled and addressed by Cheirisophus, Cleonor and Xenophon.*

ὑπέβαινε] For the force of ὑπό in composition see note on IV. 2. 7, where the verb is again used in an intransitive sense.

καταστήσαντας] ‘to station outposts and then assemble the troops’. In place of καταστήσαντας we should naturally have expected the dative of the participle. White (following Buttm. § 142. 4. Obs. 2) suggests that the change is made for the sake of clearness and emphasis. Another explanation is possible, viz. that the construction is accommodated to the meaning of the words ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ‘they determined’, rather than the impersonal form in which they are expressed.

§ 2. ὁπότε] = *quandoquidem*, ‘since’, ‘now that we have lost’. στερόμεθα, as Kühner points out, denotes the condition in which they were placed by the loss of their generals, and is therefore more in keeping with the context than στερούμεθα which appears in two good mss. In the phrase πρὸς δ’ ἔτι the preposition is used adverbially, with which we may compare the use of ἐν in poetry, e.g. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 27,

ἐν δ’ ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς
σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἐχθιστος, πόλιν.

For the phrase οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, see note on II. 4. 2.

§ 3. ἐλθεῖν] On the assumption that ἐλθεῖν is the correct reading, which there is some reason to doubt, we can scarcely avoid translating it ‘to come out of our present troubles’. The alternative is to regard ἐλθεῖν as purely poetic for εἶναι or γενέσθαι, and translate ἐκ τῶν παρόντων in the usual way, ‘considering our present difficulties’. I can find, however, no authority whatever for this rendering of the verb.

εἰ δὲ μὴ] ‘otherwise’. See note on IV. 3. 6. It is better to accept this as a phrase than to attempt to supply the ellipse. If anything is required, it can only be the future δυνήσομεθα, as the optative δυναίμεθα, which is suggested in some editions, is quite out of keeping with the other moods in the sentence.

ἀλλὰ...γε] ‘yet at all events’. For this well-known use of ἀλλὰ compare, amongst other passages, Soph. Antig. 779:—

ἢ γνώσεται γοῦν ἀλλὰ τηνικαῦθ’, ὅτι
πόνος περισσός ἐστι τὰν Ἀιδου σέβειν

‘or at any rate she shall learn—then if not before—that ’tis all waste

labour to court the powers below'. In Latin the word *tamen* does similar duty. Cf. *Phaedr.* (II. 5. 5), *hanc emendare, si tamen possum, τοιο*. It is better to supply ὅπως with ἀποθνήσκωμεν and γενώμεθα than to treat them as independent imperatives.

οἷα...ποιήσειαν] The optative, as usual, expresses the wish: 'such evils as I pray Heaven to inflict on those who hate us'. For a similar prayer compare the well-known passage at the close of Vergil's third *Georgic* (513), *Di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum*. Observe how pointedly the author changes from τοῖς πολεμίοις (i.e. *hostes*—the Persians) to τοὺς ἐχθροὺς (i.e. *inimicos*—the personal enemies of each individual), a transition which has escaped the notice of Weiske and Kühner.

§ 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ] 'directly after him': a stronger phrase, as in II. 2. 4, than μετὰ τοῦτον, which denotes mere sequence.

περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο] 'and would esteem it the highest privilege to save us'. Students will observe the introduction of ἂν at this point to mark that the latter clause of the sentence is hypothetical: 'since he said that he *was* our neighbour, and would be glad, *if he could*, to save us'.

ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'in confirmation of this'. The triple repetition of αὐτὸς by the figure technically called *anaphora* may be illustrated from III. I. 37, where a similar emphasis is secured by the recurrence of the pronoun ὑμεῖς.

Δία Ξένιον] Πίστιος is another similar attribute, with which compare the Latin equivalent *Dius Fidius*. In ὁμοτράπεζος we have a word which, like μαστεύουσι in III. I. 43, is suggestive of the language of poetry. αὐτοῖς τούτοις, 'by these very means', in reference to the previous participles: ὁμύσας...δεξιὰς δούς...ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος.

§ 5. Ἀριαῖος δὲ] is virtually a nominative absolute, since, owing to the length of the sentence, καὶ οὗτος is introduced with the verb to make the statement more emphatic.

§ 7. ἀξιώσαντα] The idea is as follows: 'that as he had counted himself worthy to wear the richest attire, so he would also, if need be, die in it'.

§ 8. διὰ φιλίας λέναι] lit. 'to pass through a state of friendship with them', i.e. to be on a friendly footing with them. For one out of many similar phrases, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 742:

ὦ παγκάκιστε, διὰ δίκης ἰὼν πατρὶ;

τοὺς στρατηγούς] To secure additional emphasis, the nominative of the subordinate clause is anticipated in this form by attraction.

διὰ πίστεως] is usually rendered 'by reason of their confidence', but, if this had been the meaning, we should naturally have expected the accusative. It is therefore far safer to translate the phrase as akin to διὰ φιλίας above, i.e. 'placed themselves in confidence (lit. in a state of confidence) in their hands'. In all these cases (e.g. διὰ φιλίας, διὰ πίστεως and διὰ πολέμου) the preposition denotes the attendant or surrounding circumstances.

σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] 'if heaven befriend us'.

§§ 9—32. Occurrence of an omen, after which Xenophon concludes his speech.

§ 9. πῶς ἀνέβη] Macmichael rightly calls attention to the fact that this was not under all circumstances regarded as a good omen, but only when it occurred in connexion with words or phenomena of good import. Thus in many cases (e.g. in Theocritus and Theophrastus) special formulae are given for averting the effects of it, while in Catullus (XLV. 8) the qualifying adjectives are given:

*Hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistram ut ante,
Dextram sternuit approbationem.*

εὐχασθαι] ‘that we vow to sacrifice to this deity thank-offerings for our deliverance.....and that we make besides an additional vow to sacrifice also to the rest of the gods, provided we have the means’.

§ 10. ἐτύγχανον] is here used in its full and proper signification, ‘I happened to be remarking’.

ἐπιωρκήκασιν] ‘have broken their oaths’. How closely the last paragraph of this section resembles the language of the tragedians will be seen by comparing such passages as Soph. *Antig.* 1158, *Alc.* 127, etc.

§ 11. ἔπειτα δέ] ‘in the next place’, in answer to πρῶτον μὲν in § 10. The parenthesis which follows causes a break in the construction, the natural sequence (ἵστε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς...προσῆκει εἶναι) being exchanged for ἵνα εἰδῆτε and made subordinate to the parenthetical clause.

προσῆκει] The verb contains a twofold idea—that bravery was at once the birthright and the duty of an Athenian.

Περσῶν] The allusion is to the invasion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes, and to their defeat at Marathon in 490. The Athenian force is said to have numbered only 10,000 men, while the enemy had 10,000 cavalry and 100,000 foot-soldiers. On the assumption that the word αὐτοῖς is to be retained (and it appears in all the leading MSS) we must understand it with Bornemann in a purely general sense: ‘intending to bring Athens back again to nought’. Observe the omission of the article with the word Ἀθηναῖοι which adds greatly to the emphasis, ‘it was *Athenians* who were found to withstand them’.

§ 12. εὐχόμενοι] a nominative absolute, as, when the main verb comes, it takes the impersonal form ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς, which would require εὐχαμένοις. Compare the corresponding passage at the commencement of § 1. The retention of ἄν with the optative (ὁπόσους ἄν κατακάνοιεν), notwithstanding the sentence has passed into the oblique narration, has been explained in connexion with I. 5. 9.

ποσαύτας χιμαῖρας] This vow was registered by the Polemarch Callimachus, and (according to the scholiast on Ar. *Equit.* 657) heifers were originally named in it, though goats were afterwards substituted in consequence of the number required. There is little question that the sacrifice was retained to gratify the national vanity of the Athenians long after the requirements of the vow had been satisfied. It is by no means clear why the compound ἀποθύουσιν takes the place of θύουσιν when the verb is repeated. To judge from the force of ἀποτρέχειν in Ar. *Nub.* 1005 (to ‘run off in heats’) and ἀπολήψεσθαι (*ibid.* 1140), it

may denote the separate instalments of the vow, an explanation which is quite consistent with the use of the compound in IV. 8. 25.

§ 13. ἀναριθμητον] Compare the inscription on the tomb of the Peloponnesians who fell at Thermopylae:

μυριάσι ποτε τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέταρες.

κατὰ γῆν] at Plataea: κατὰ θάλατταν, at Artemisium and Salamis.

§ 14. πολλαπλασίους] 'though they outnumbered you many-fold'. The genitive (as in the case of διαφέρειν and similar verbs) is due to the idea of comparison which is contained in the adjective.

§ 15. πολὺν] For the position and force of the adverb see note on πολὺν σὺν φρονήματι μέλζονι (III. I. 22).

§ 16. τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον] 'though you saw how countless were their numbers'. White, ignoring the position of the article, translates 'their immense multitude', a rendering which can only be justified by regarding the text as one of the few instances in which the adjective and substantive cohere so closely as to represent in effect one single idea. But the examples in question are almost entirely confined to poetry, and the construction moreover would be out of keeping with so simple a style as Xenophon's.

πατρώῳ] 'with the spirit of your fathers'. There is really no ground for rejecting this reading in favour of πατρίῳ, which Dindorf, Breitenbach and others would substitute for it on the authority of the inferior MSS. Their decision was no doubt influenced by a desire to conform to Hermann's ruling that πάτρια denotes 'quae sunt patris', πατρώα 'quae veniunt a patre', πατρικά 'qualia sunt patris'. More probably, however, πατρώος is confined to the family, and πάτριος to the nation, in which case the former adjective is more in accordance with the tone of the speech. Compare in particular such passages as the following: καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων πρόγονους, and again τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων.

εἰς αὐτοὺς] I have already noticed this use of the preposition in connexion with I. 2. 18, and more fully in the essay on Xenophon's style. In the passage which follows, the negative is combined with δέχεσθαι instead of θέλουσι in order that the cowardice of the enemy may be placed in the clearest possible light: 'determined to avoid us' rather than 'wished not to meet us'.

§ 17. μείον...ἔχειν] 'nor yet imagine that you are placed at a disadvantage in this respect that...'. In Attic Greek εἰ often stands with the indicative in the sense of ὅτι to avoid a positive statement even in the case of an acknowledged fact. In the introductory essay I have commented on some exceptional uses of the same idiom.

οἱ Κυρεῖοι includes, amongst others, Ariaeus and his followers.

ἐφευγον γοῶν] The inferior MSS give οὖν, but, even on its own merits, the reading of the text is infinitely to be preferred, γοῶν being the recognised formula in cases where one example is given and the others suppressed.

§ 18. οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς] 'a body of ten thousand horse', but not in special reference to the number of the enemy's cavalry, as the remainder

of the sentence (οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες κ.τ.λ.) shows that the statement is quite a general one. To read, as Krüger does, *μυριοί* 'countless' in place of *μύριοι* 'the proverbial 10,000' is to rob the passage of half its force.

§ 19. *κρέμανται*] 'are poised' on horseback: in contrast with *βεβηκότες*, 'are planted' on the ground. We are required to believe that an audience, with whom these trivialities could pass for argument, was composed of exceptionally intelligent men! See introd. II. *ad fin.* The verb *τενξόμεθα* is used in its original Homeric sense of 'hitting a mark'.

ἡμᾶς] for which Cobet would substitute *ἡμῶν*, is the universal reading of the MSS, though I can find no other instance in which *πρό-εχειν* is followed by an accusative of the person.

§ 20. *τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε*] The accusative, which is practically a cognate (*τοῦτο ἄχθος ἄχθεσθε*), need occasion no difficulty, though some of the editors have proposed to substitute *τούτω*.

λαβόντες] 'such of the inhabitants as we may seize and direct to guide us'. In the sentence which follows observe that *περί* with an accusative denotes more *general* and *indefinite* relations than the same preposition with a genitive. Compare, in particular, a note on *τὰ περί Προξένου* in II. 5. 37.

§ 21. *μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας*] 'without so much as the money to buy with', for the pay of the troops had ended with the death of Cyrus.

§ 22. *ἄπορον*] 'but regard the rivers as a hopeless business, and think that you were greatly misled when you crossed them'. Notwithstanding the use of *ἄποροι* below in the sense of 'impassable', I still prefer to take *ἄπορον* in the more general signification of 'hopeless', 'desperate', more especially as *ἄπορα νομίζειν* in this sense is a favourite phrase with our author.

σκέψασθε εἰ] 'consider that here again to my thinking the barbarians have acted in a very foolish fashion'. Students will do well to compare the construction of this clause with what is at first sight a similar one: *μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξητε ἔχειν εἰ... ἄφραστοί κεν* (§ 17). In reality however the present construction stands on a totally different footing, as the formation of the sentence in this case causes an ambiguity which a careful writer would studiously have avoided. By *μωρότατον* the historian implies that the action taken by the inhabitants would in the end prove injurious to themselves, since, the more they impeded the return of the Greeks, the more would they suffer from their stay in the country.

ἄποροι ὥσι] 'granted that they are impassable at a distance from their source'. If we are to retain the reading of the best MSS the present is an instance of the rare use of *εἰ* with the subjunctive. For a full examination of this construction, which would exceed the limits of a note, I must refer the reader to *Madv. Gk. Gram.* § 125.

προϊούσι] 'as we advance', a phrase in which the participle is used to define the *special circumstances* or *limitations* within which an event can happen. For a similar construction, see note on *ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν* in § 38 of the first chapter.

§ 23. *διήσουσιν*] Kühner and Vollbrecht are probably right in

regarding this as the true reading by comparison with IV. I. 8, V. 4. 2. That διοίσουσιν (which appears in four out of the five leading MSS) can mean 'vary in their depth', as Macmichael translates it, I do not for an instant believe, and, if it is to be retained in the text, we can only understand the verb in its primitive sense as an equivalent for διήσουσιν. In Soph. *Trach.* 323 there is the same difficulty in determining between διοίσει and διήσει.

οὐ τάρᾳ τῷ γε πρόσθεν οὐδὲν ἐξ ἴσου
χρόνῳ διοίσει γλώσσαν

where, I think, διαφέρειν γλώσσαν is used poetically for 'to part the lips'. βελτίους εἶναι] because the Mysians, like the Carians, were a proverbially worthless race.

βασιλέως... ἐν τῇ βασιλέως] Schneider and Dindorf would alter the sentence so as to avoid this recurrence of the word βασιλέως. On the other hand the repetition is not without force, as in the case of αὐτὸς in § 4 of the present chapter. We may compare in addition II. 6. 8, ἱκανὸς δὲ (ὁ Κλέαρχος) καὶ ἐμποιεῖσαι τοῖς παρούσιν, ὡς πειστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ.

τὴν τούτων χώραν] It has been proposed to substitute τούτου for τούτων, but the change is quite unnecessary, as the author passes by a natural transition from the Persian king to the nation which he represents.

§ 24. αἶν ἐφήν] is the reading of the MSS, for which Bornemann and others would substitute φαίην. But the indicative is not only a more forcible but also a more correct construction, since, as Kühner points out, the indicative is required by the protasis εἰ μὴ ἐδεδοίκειν, which is practically contained in the words which follow: ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα (§ 25). Macmichael well compares Juv. III. 315:

*His alias poteram et plures subnectere causas:
Sed iumenta vocant.*

οἵκαδε ὠρμημένους] 'that we have started for home'. For the compound κατασκευάζεσθαι, see note on κατασκευασμένοι in IV. I. 8.

καὶ ὁδοποιήσεί γε] 'aye, and would make a road for them too'. The construction of τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν has been noticed in connexion with I. 3. 2.

§ 25. ἀλλὰ γὰρ] 'But (I do not recommend this course) for I am afraid that...', 'I am afraid however that...'. A complete history of the construction will be found in Riddell's *Digest of Platonic Idioms* and Shilleto's *Thuc.* I. (on the combinations of γάρ).

For καὶ Μήδων δὲ see note on the force of δὲ in I. I. 2, and again in IV. 6. 13. For the story of the lotus-eaters, see Herod. IV. 177 and Hom. *Od.* IX. 94.

§ 26. κομισαμένους] We might have expected κομισαμένοις, but, by a common idiom, a clause in dependence is often substituted for a clause in agreement, when the reference is not limited to any particular occasion. 'When they have it in their power to bring hither their needy citizens at home, and see them enriched'. White makes the strange mistake of translating κομισαμένους, 'having come hither'. The

active πολιτεύειν is here employed in its usual and legitimate sense, 'to be a member of a community', while on the other hand the middle voice is generally used of a statesman, 'one who takes part in the politics of a community'. ἀκλήρους, 'without a portion', has a special force in relation to the context, as κλήρος is the regular word for an allotment of conquered territory. With the whole tenor of the passage compare a very similar suggestion in the *Vespaë* of Aristophanes, v. 705 :

εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλοντο βίον πορίσαι τῷ δήμῳ ῥάδιον ἦν ἂν.
εἰσὶν γε πόλεις χίλιαι, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν·
τούτων εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας βόσκειν εἰ τις προσέταξεν ἐκάστη,
δύο μυριάδες τῶν δημοτικῶν ἔξων ἐν πᾶσι λαγῶσις.

§ 27. στρατηγῇ] 'may not regulate our march'. ζεύγη, 'teams' (*equi et boves jugales*, Sturz), who might have added that the reference is usually to ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ in cases where no qualifying adjective is given. See note on VII. 5. 4.

§ 28. τὰ περισσὰ] 'the superfluous articles'. It is better to treat κρατουμένων as a genitive absolute than to make it directly dependent on the word ἀλλότρια, which is the suggestion of Kühner. Tr. 'when men are conquered all things are wrested from them'. It cannot in any case be the genitive after πάντα, a construction which would necessitate the article with κρατουμένων.

§ 29. ὄντων μὲν] 'so long as our officers were alive and we obeyed them'. On the position of πολὺν in § 30 we have already commented in a note on III. 1. 22.

With the words νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν at the end of § 30 we must supply γενέσθαι from the previous clause.

§ 31. ἢν ψηφίσῃσθε] This recurrence of ἢν is so awkward that I should be inclined to omit it and read ψηφίσασθε, or else ψηφίσασθαι with Breitenbach, if the case we are considering stood alone in the *Anabasis*. But compare, in particular, VII. 3. 36, and the examples quoted in introd. II.

τὸν αἰεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα] 'that any one of you who happens to be present at the time shall take part with the commander in punishing him'. For this sense of αἰεὶ, see note on τὸ ὑπερβάλλον in IV. 1. 7. In ἐψενσμένοι ἔσονται notice the force of the tense, 'will find themselves mistaken', while a remarkable use of the same perfect occurs in Thuc. VI. 17, ἀλλὰ μέγιστον δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐψενσμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς μόλις ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἱκανῶς ὥπλισθη.

μυρίους...Κλεάρχους] in allusion to the exceptional severity of his discipline as noticed in II. 6. 8.

§ 32. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ] i.e. βέλτιον ἢ τοῦτο περαίνειν, though by a slight change in the construction ταύτῃ is substituted for the accusative τοῦτο. Some of the editors introduce εἶδε or οἶδε into the text and read ἄλλων for ἄλλο, which impairs the rhythm of the sentence without touching the real difficulty. The context must determine the application of the term ἰδιώτης. In this case it may denote a *civilian* as opposed to a *soldier*, or, more probably, a *private soldier* as distinguished from an *officer*.

§§ 33 to end. After a short speech from Cheirisophus, and another

from Xenophon who arranges the order of the march, the assembly is broken up.

καὶ αὐτίκα] = *mox etiam*, 'even later on', 'by and bye'.

§ 34. προσδοκᾶν] A strange verb to be combined with δοκεῖ, and, if it were not for the universal agreement of the MSS in favour of retaining it, I should be inclined to read προσδεῖν, the emendation of Wyttienbach. As it stands, the text can only mean 'the contingencies which I think we must anticipate', and which are explained in detail in § 35.

§ 35. οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι] The plural, which Kühner substitutes for θαυμάζοιμι on the authority of three MSS, is inappropriate in connexion with the context, since the suggestions which follow represent the impressions of Xenophon rather than those of his audience. Otherwise he would naturally have adopted the less definite formula θαυμάζειν δέοι, to which he reverts in § 36, because all will participate in the development of his schemes.

αὐτοῖ] is rather more elegant than the other reading οὔτοι, and also rests on stronger authority. This particular form of anacoluthon (εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι...εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖ), of which we have already had several instances, is at once inelegant and a mark of carelessness on the part of the writer, being an obvious and clumsy device for meeting the difficulties of a parenthesis.

§ 36. πλαίσιον] Elsewhere called πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον, 'a hollow square'. In spite of Macmichael's apology for εἶη, I agree with Krüger Kühner and Poppo that it is practically indefensible, and that it must be abandoned in favour of ᾗ. The ordinary explanation that the optative suggests a more uncertain chance of realisation than the subjunctive is inadmissible here, though it would no doubt be consistent with our author's character to couch his proposals in the most modest form. It should be noticed by beginners that, if εἶη be retained, it is ᾗν rather than ἐστὶν that must be supplied with ἀσφαλέστερον. For, although we can say in Greek 'they did it...in order that there *may* be' (cf. Thuc. III. 22, φρυκτοὺς παρανίσχον ὅπως ἀσαφῇ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολέμοις ᾗ), the converse idiom, 'they do it...in order that there *might* be', is admissible only in connexion with the historical present, a construction which it would be unadvisable to imitate. The phrase πλαίσιον τῶν ὕπλων is equivalent to πλαίσιον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν as in II. 2. 4.

τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν] 'to regulate the vanguard'. ὅποτε ἔλθοιεν may be the optative of *doubt* or *uncertainty*, 'if ever the enemy come', or, more probably, it is the simple optative of repetition. τοῖς τεταγμένοις is of course a neuter, 'the plans we have made', i.e. our tactics.

§ 37. ἡγείσθω...ἐπιμελείσθων] The imperative is so clearly the mood which we require that it is surprising to find the optatives retained in the editions of Breitenbach and Vollbrecht. The words καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστὶ contain a tacit admission that Cheirisophus was in other respects well qualified to exercise the command.

τὸ νῦν εἶναι] 'at any rate for the present'. Compare τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι (I. 6. 9) and a note on the passage. It is necessary, however, to take cognisance of the presence of the infinitive, which in the opinion of the best authorities tends to *limit* or *qualify* the meaning of the

phrase. Activity and energy were the primary qualifications for commanding the rear-guard. The proposition, therefore, that Timasion and himself should be appointed to this post would in itself suggest that our author was at this time under forty years of age, independent of the plea which follows on the ground of his youth.

§ 38. ἀει] 'from time to time' as in § 31. In § 39 beginners will distinguish *μηνήσθω εἶναι*, 'let him remember to be', from *μηνήσθω ὦν* 'let him remember that he is'.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—5. *The overtures made by Mithridates, and the answer of Cheirisophus, together with the defection of Nicarchus and the measures taken in consequence.*

μετεδίδosan] For the constructions of μετέχειν, μεταδίδοναι, see note on οὐ προσέσαν in IV. 5. 5. The phrase εἰς ἐπήκοον (i. e. τόπον) 'within hearing' occurs again in II. 5. 38 and elsewhere.

§ 3. ἦν μὲν τις ἐᾷ] I have had no hesitation in adopting this text with Kühner in preference to εἴ μὲν τις ἐᾷ which appears in three leading MSS, as the assurance which is implied by εἰ with the indicative is out of harmony with the context and their uncertainty in regard to the future.

§ 4. ὑπόπεμptos εἶη] 'that he was insidiously sent', 'that he was sent with a purpose'—a force of the compound which appears again in II. 4. 22, τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπέμψαιεν.

The words καὶ γὰρ introduce an additional cause for the suspicion felt by the Greeks: 'add to which he was accompanied by a relative of Tissaphernes to insure his fidelity'.

§ 5. ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι] 'that the war would allow of no intercourse by herald so long as they continued in the enemy's country'. For this phrase (which is often found in connexion with the adjective ἄσπονδος) compare in particular the opening passage of the second book of Thucydides.

διέφθειρον...διέφθειραν] The tenses are intentionally contrasted: 'attempted to seduce...succeeded in seducing'.

Nothing can be determined as to the identity of this Nicarchus with the man of the same name who at the close of the previous book brought the news of the capture of the generals.

§§ 6—10. *The Greeks cross the river Zabatus, and are severely harassed by Mithridates owing to the want of slingers and cavalry.*

τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν] The river Zab, one of the most important confluent of the Tigris, which at certain seasons of the year it surpasses in magnitude. It was known to the older geographers as the *Lycus*, and to Pliny as the *Zerbis*. For further particulars see a note on χαράδραν at the commencement of chapter IV, for the greater portion of which I am indebted to Ainsworth, p. 134.

§ 7. βραχύτερα...ἐτόξευον] The superiority of the Persian archers

was no doubt mainly owing to the greater length of their bows. Cf. III. 4. 17, *μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστίν*. For the phrase *βραχύτερα ἐτόξευον* 'had a shorter range than the Persians', we may compare the expression *breuius valere* in Tacitus *Ann.* (VI. 35) where it is used of the Sarmatian bowmen. The Cretans alluded to in the present instance were no doubt the two hundred men who had followed in the train of Clearchus (I. 2. 9).

κατεκέκλυντο] Kühn., *κατεκέκλειντο* Vollbr. and Macm., *κατεκέκλιντο* MSS. The Cretan archers had been placed for security within the protection of the square, a position which allowed little scope for their services.

ἢ ὥς ἐξικνεῖσθαι] A construction which is employed like *ἢ ὥστε* after the comparative degree when it is an entire sentence that is the object of comparison. Usually this infinitive will refer either actively or passively to the subject of the adjective, while occasionally it is independent of the adjective whether as regards subject or object. More remarkable is the combination of *ἐξικνεῖσθαι* with a genitive of the object. The construction is apparently based on the analogy of the verb *τυγχάνειν*, but Kühner does not instance a corresponding example, nor do I know of any.

§ 9. *καταλαμβάνειν*] 'to overtake'. *ἐκ πολλοῦ* will mean 'with a long start'. Compare *ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος* at the end of § 15.

§ 10. *φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐπίτρωσκον*] I have already noticed this use of *ἅμα* in IV. 1. 19, and again in IV. 7. 2. *εἰς τοῦπισθεν* 'backwards', 'behind their backs': reminding us of the description of the Parthian archers in Verg. *Georg.* III. 31, *fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis*.

§§ 11—end. *On their arrival at a village they reconsider their position and arrange for a supply of archers and cavalry.*

τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης] 'in the course of all that day'. The genitive is probably used with the express object of denoting their broken and fragmentary march: 'at intervals throughout the day', 'in their starts throughout the day'. Similarly we may translate *δείλης* which follows 'in the late afternoon'. For *δείλης* in the sense of *δείλης ὀψίας*, see note on a similar omission in I. 8. 8. *φάλαγγος* is here used as an equivalent for *στρατεύματος*. In II. 1. 6 and II. 3. 3 it is employed in a more technical sense.

§ 12. *ἡτιῶντο...μαρτυροῖη*] The transition from the indicative to the optative is objected to by Poppo, Krüger and Vollbrecht, who would in consequence read *αἰτιῶντο*. But, as Kühner points out, similar changes are of frequent occurrence in the *Anabasis*, while the indicative may serve to mark the *fact* as distinct from the *impression*.

§ 14. *μὴ μεγάλα*] 'so as to do us no great harm, but rather to show us our deficiencies'.

§ 15. *οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες*] = *οἱ ἀκοντισταί*, as distinguished from the archers.

πολὺ] Although this word is placed early in the sentence for the sake of emphasis, it goes closely with *χωρίον* in translation and must not be taken adverbially as in III. 1. 22 and elsewhere.

ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος] 'if he starts but the length of a bow-shot in

advance'. Hutchinson aptly compares Aesch. *Pers.* 147, πότερον τόξου ῥῦμα τὸ νικῶν.

§ 16. μέλλοιμεν] for which Kühner and others read μέλλομεν on the ground that the optative would express a doubt in the speaker's mind, is found in the two best MSS and defended by Bornemann on the analogy of the following passage from Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8. 5, ὁ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσθαι. With τὴν ταχίστην understood ὁδόν.

§ 17. ἐκεῖναι] 'the latter', a common use of the pronoun when it stands alone. On the other hand, when it is found in combination with οὗτος, it is to be referred to the more remote of the two objects. With the poetic word χειροπληθέσιν compare the use of ἀμαξιάιους in IV. 2. 4. The 'leaden bullets' referred to in ταῖς μολιβδίσιςιν are alluded to by several of the Latin poets, e.g. by Ovid (*Metam.* II. 727) and Vergil (*Aen.* IX. 588).

§ 18. καὶ τοῦτῳ μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον] 'and give money to such an one in exchange for them', where τοῦτῳ has a collective force and refers to the τίνες above. Several of the editors retain the reading καὶ τοῦτων τῷ μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, which destroys the balance of the sentence and stultifies the word ἄλλο in the succeeding clause, the very point of which is that the same men who sold their slings might also get an *additional* reward if they chose to plait others. I am myself inclined to think that the true reading may be as follows: καὶ τοῦτων μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῷ ἀργύριον, in which case αὐτῷ will be the equivalent of τούτῳ in the text, and explanatory of the word τίνες above, 'giving money to *such an one* in exchange for them'.

ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ] 'in the place appointed for him'. Kühner, strangely enough, reads ἐν τῷ ἐντεταγμένῳ, but the compound is to me unintelligible, as the reference is to a *place* and not to a *person*. On the other hand, Vollbrecht's suggestion (τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι) is still less satisfactory, for there is little force in the compound, and the addition of the word ἐθέλοντι is awkward both in construction and sense. The word ἄλλην may be interpreted in three distinct ways in the present passage: (i) 'some exemption from duty *besides*', i.e. in addition to the money he might have made by selling or plaiting slings, (ii) 'some other immunity' as distinct from a monetary reward (cf. ἄλλο I. 5. 5), and (iii) 'an exemption from certain other duties' as in II. 6. 11. Of the above explanations, the second is probably the correct one.

§ 19. αἰχμαλώτους] 'which we have captured from the enemy'. σκευοφόρα] 'and replace them with baggage-animals while we adapt the horses for cavalry use'. The verb κατασκευάζειν, as Kühner notices, includes the training of the horses no less than their actual equipment.

§ 20. ἐδοκιμάσθησαν] 'passed muster', 'were adjudged fit for service'. For the meaning of the word στολάδες and its different forms, see note on IV. I. 18.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—5. *After they had crossed the stream, Mithridates again encounters the Greeks in a deep ravine, and is defeated by them with great loss.*

τῇ ἄλλῃ] See note on II. 1. 3.

χαράδραν] The *Kharir* or *Burmadus* (al. *Bumadus*), a tributary of the *Zabatus*, which, according to Layard, was distant about three miles from the main ford of the river. Here they met and defeated Mithridates in the valley formed by the torrent. There is some little difficulty in determining the exact point at which the Greeks effected their passage. Layard would place it as far as five-and-twenty miles from the confluence of the *Zabatus* and *Tigris*: Macmichael at less than half that distance: while Colonel Chesney considers that the crossing was made in the immediate neighbourhood of their confluence.

§ 2. καταφρονήσας] ‘whom he despised from the fact that...’

§ 3. παρήγγελτο] *sub. τούτοις*, ‘now word had been passed to those of the peltasts and hoplites on whom fell the duty of the pursuit’.

§ 4. κατελήφει] ‘had overtaken them’. With ἐσήμνηε supply *σαλπικτής* as in II. 2. 4. This omission is common in the case of certain officials (e.g. κῆρυξ, γραμματεὺς, etc.), whose duties were so well recognised as to be suggested by the mere use of the verb.

ἔθειον ὁμόσει] ‘those who had received their orders immediately closed with the foe’.

§ 5. αὐτοκέλευστοι] ‘without orders’, ‘acting from impulse’.

§§ 6—9. *The Greeks reach the river Tigris and the city of Larissa, of which the author gives a description.*

§ 7. Λάρισσα] Nearly all the authorities are agreed in identifying this place with the ruins of *Nimrud*, a quarter of the larger city of *Nineveh*. It is further suggested that this Assyrian capital may represent the original city of *Resen*, and that from the combination *Al Resen* the name Larissa was formed by the Greeks. If we accept this more than doubtful proposition, the statement ὥκουν αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι must refer to the period which followed the subjugation of the city by Cyaxares I. A rival theory, which later discoveries have tended to confirm, has been suggested by Colonel Rawlinson to the effect that *Nimrud* or *Larissa* represents the *Calah* of Genesis, which in the Samaritan Pentateuch appears as *Lachisa* (see Ainsworth, p. 137).

δύο παρασάγγαι] in all probability about seven and a quarter miles. κρηπίς λιθίνη, ‘a stone basement’.

§ 8. βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν] Cyrus the Great. Observe the force of the imperfect ἐλάμβανον, ‘were endeavouring to seize the empire’.

νεφέλην προκαλύψας] The reference is apparently to a fog, or (less probably) to an eclipse of the sun, but the reading of the passage is more than doubtful. The text may be defended on the ground that it stands by hypallage for νεφέλη τὴν πόλιν προκαλύψας (Macmichael), or else προκαλύπτει νεφέλην may be simply a poetical equivalent for the Latin *obscudere nubem*. Even if the MSS were not unanimous in favour

of the text, I should scarcely be tempted to substitute in its place the emendation of Amasaëus (ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε), which, though accepted by Hutchinson and other editors, is made more than doubtful by the unusual position of the accusative ἥλιον. With the verb ἐξέλιπον we must, of course, supply αὐτήν.

§ 9. παρὰ τὴν πόλιν] For this force of παρὰ see note on IV. 3. 1, and introd. II.

§§ 10—12. *A description of Mespila, their next halting-place.*

Μέσπιλα] a portion of *Nineveh*, if we accept the opinion of Layard, Chesney and others: while Rawlinson, on the other hand, identifies it with *Mosul*, which (more probably) was situated on the opposite bank of the river. In either case the name *Mespila* (i.e. *meso-pulai*) was no doubt applied by the Greeks to the pass of the Tigris.

κογχυλιάτου] ‘The common building-stone of *Mosul* is highly fossiliferous, indeed *replete with shells*’ (Ainsworth, p. 140).

§ 11. Μῆδεια] See note on τὸ Μηδείας καλούμενον τεῖχος in II. 4. 12. The imperfect ἀπώλλυσαν, for which ἀπώλεσαν has been substituted by the editors in defiance of the MSS, may be defended on the analogy of ἦσαν in I. 1. 6 and ὠρμώντο (ed. Kühn.) in I. 10. 1. With the construction ἀπολλύναι ὑπὸ τινος, compare ἐκπτεσεῖν ὑπὸ τινος, αἰτίαν ἔχειν ὑπὸ τινος and many other similar combinations.

§ 12. ἐμβροντήτους ποιῇ] ‘strikes the inhabitants with a panic’. How and in what way we have no means of inferring, though it is possible, as Sturz suggests, that the adjective is used in its literal sense to indicate the effects of a thunderstorm.

§§ 13—23. *The progress of the Greeks is impeded by Tissaphernes and his troops. Special arrangements are made to secure them against his attacks.*

εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν] Kühner treats this as a pregnant construction in place of ἐλθὼν ἐπεφάνη. But compare rather the old phrase ‘against the morrow’ (εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν) and other similar expressions.

οὓς τε...ἔχων] i.e. ἐκείνους τε ἔχων ἱππέας, οὓς αὐτὸς ἦλθεν ἔχων—an awkward and unnatural construction, as the participle ἔχων, though entirely subordinate to the verb ἦλθεν, is made to supply the place of the main verb in the sentence. In the word ἱππέας the author alludes to the 500 cavalry mentioned in I. 2. 4.

τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα] See II. 4. 8. Plutarch gives Rhodogune as the name of this daughter of Artaxerxes.

ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφός] mentioned in II. 4. 25 as ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφός.

§ 14. ὑπισθεν] ‘in the rear of the Greeks’. For the full force of the construction εἶχεν καταστήσας, see note on εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι (IV. 7. 1).

παραγαγών] ‘and others he drew out by a side-movement (παρὰ) to bear upon our flanks’. In other words, he had drawn up his troops so as to form three sides of a square, the side nearest the enemy being left open so as to tempt them into the trap. It will be remembered that, in the late African campaign, the Zulus adopted a similar mode of attack, by throwing out two crescent-shaped wings, one on either side

of their line of advance. διακινδυνεύειν is to 'risk a *decisive* engagement'.

§ 15. διαταχθέντες] 'having been dispersed among the ranks' (White); but there is no ground for supposing that this arrangement had been selected, which would on many accounts have been an awkward one, while the contrary is suggested in § 26 of the present chapter. 'In open order' is surely the more natural interpretation.

The reading Σκύθαι, which appears in the three best MSS, is justified by Kühner on the ground that it had become technical in this connexion. Cf. Arr. *Tact.* II. 13, οἱ τῶν ἱππέων τόξοις χρώμενοι ἵπποτοξόται λέγονται, ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ Σκύθαι. On the other hand, Σκυθοτοξόται, which is supported by the remaining MSS, is defensible on the same ground, as implying no more than 'mounted archers of the Scythian type'.

προϋθυμείτο] προθυμοίτο, which is accepted by Schneider, Mac-michael and others on the authority of five MSS, has been rightly rejected by Kühner as a solecism on the ground that ῥάδιον ἦν (facile erat) is equivalent to ῥάδιον ἂν ἦν, and refers altogether to a historic past.

§ 16. εἰσίνοντο] is no doubt the true reading, as the rare occurrence of the verb in prose will easily account for the substitution of ἐπέκειντο, which appears in some of the MSS.

For the force of τότε, see note on II. 3. 1, and a quotation from Thuc. III. 69, which exactly illustrates its meaning in the passage before us.

§ 17. ἄνω ἵέντες μακράν] White boldly joins issue with Bishop Thirlwall in regard to the meaning of this passage, and supports Raleigh's view, who, in his *Hist. of the World* (III. 10. 8), says that Xenophon 'trained his archers to shoot compass who had been accustomed to the point blank'. But, granting the fact, I should still not expect to find it incidentally mentioned without a word of comment on so unusual a custom, more especially when the context proves that the main object of their present training was to give them a longer range than that of their enemy. I am inclined, therefore, to think that ἄνω ἵέντες means no more than 'shooting upwards perpendicularly', in order to lessen the trouble of collecting the arrows. [I am glad to find that, in his note on the passage, Kühner adopts the above interpretation.]

§ 18. πολλὸς σίτος] 'Fertility (says Ainsworth) is the characteristic of the plain of *Nineveh* to the present day'.

§ 19. ἐγνώσαν] 'discovered that a square was a bad arrangement for troops with an enemy following in the rear'. τὰ κέρατα is virtually equivalent to αἱ πλευραί, the only difference, as the word denotes, being this—that in the case of κέρατα the flanks of the column are regarded from the *extremities*, in the case of πλευραὶ from the *sides*.

συγκύπτει] 'should the flanks of the column be compressed...the hoplites (*who form the centre*) are forced out of position...on the other hand, when the flanks diverge, those who a while ago were crushed out of place are now too widely scattered'. In connexion with πονήρως 'with difficulty', Kühner distinguishes between the adjectives πόνηρος

(difficilis) and *πονηρός* (pravus). The phrase τὸ μέτον τῶν κεράτων denotes the troops which formed the centre of the column.

§ 20. ἀλλην τινὰ διάβασιν] ‘to go over a bridge or *any other crossing*’. The same phrase occurs again in § 23, and in both cases alike there is a doubt whether διάβασιν is to be regarded as a *direct* or a *cognate accusative*. Its combination with γέφυραν naturally suggests the former, while the latter is the more idiomatic construction, ‘to cross by a bridge or *in any other kind of way*’.

εἰς ἐπίθετον ἦν] ‘and in all such cases the column was exposed to attack from the enemy’. Although White compares IV. 8. 12 and Herod. VII. 199 in proof that εἰς ἐπίθετον is here used absolutely, I prefer myself to understand πλαίσιον or some equivalent substantive with Zeune and others.

§ 21. ἐνωμοτάρχας] The ἐνωμοτία (judging from the present passage) consisted of twenty-five men, and formed the fourth part of a λόχος. If so, it must have varied in numbers according to circumstances, as Thucydides (v. 68) says that it contained on an average thirty-two men.

οἱ λοχαγοί] Kühner regards these words with suspicion. On the other hand, Dindorf and others see no difficulty in retaining them, with the substitution, however, of οὕτω for οἱτοι.

ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι] ‘they waited behind in the rear’. The words which follow, τότε δὲ παρήγον κ.τ.λ., have been explained in two ways, (i) ‘afterwards by a side-movement (παρά) they came back into position outside the flanks’, (ii) ‘this done (or ‘at other times’) they marched along outside the wings’. Of these interpretations the latter, which is preferred by Kühner, is also more consistent with the context, with the ordinary use of the verb παράγειν, and with the idea suggested by ἐπιπαρήσαν in § 23.

§ 22. ἂν ἐξεπίμπασαν] Frequentative. See notes on οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο (I. 9. 19), and ἐπαισεν ἂν (II. 3. 11). In place of ἂν ἐξεπίμπασαν, the MSS give the compound form ἀνεξεπίμπασαν, which is rightly rejected by Kühner and Krüger on the ground that we have no precedent for this inversion in the order of the prepositions.

κατὰ λόχους] White, following Halbkart, offers an elaborate explanation of the present passage, for which I must refer the reader to p. 177 of his edition. It proceeds on the theory that κατὰ λόχους is to be understood as implying that the companies were drawn up *side by side*. But the ordinary use of the phrase suggests a far simpler interpretation, viz. that the author is describing the columns in reference to their *depth*, and that κατὰ λόχους will mean 100 deep and therefore six abreast, while κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς and κατ’ ἐνωμοτίας will mean respectively 50 deep and 12 abreast, or, on the other hand, 25 deep and 24 abreast.

§ 23. εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος] ‘if help was required in any quarter of the main column (που τῆς φάλαγγος)’. Macmichael suggests ‘if there was any need of the column anywhere’, or ‘if it were necessary for a part of the column to be present anywhere’—neither of which interpretations is at all satisfactory.

§§ 24—30. *The Greeks arrive at a palace after making their way*

over some lofty hills in the neighbourhood of which they are harassed by the enemy.

βασιλείον τι] A castle called *Zakhu* (says Ainsworth) still stands in this spot surrounded by villages, while the hills mentioned by Xenophon have been satisfactorily identified as a triple range known to the Arabs and the Kurds as the 'White Hills'.

§ 25. ἐς τὸ πρᾶνές] 'down hill', 'following the slope of the hill'.

In illustration of the phrase ὑπὸ μαστίγων compare the well-known passage in the account given by Herodotus of the battle of Thermopylae (VII. 223).

§ 28. ὁπότε ἀπείκειν] The optative is used because the same operations were repeated at each successive hill.

§ 30. κατὰ τὸ ὄρος] By this manœuvre the peltasts from their commanding position were enabled to cover the march of the rest of the troops, whose path lay parallel with their own across the spurs (γῆλόφους) which the mountain threw out at its base.

ἐπιπαριόντες] The participle is better known in its more technical sense: e.g. of an officer engaged in 'visiting the ranks' of his troops. In the present case it means no more than to 'advance in the same parallel with the army (παρὰ) but on higher ground (ἐπὶ)'.

§§ 31—36. *After remaining three days at their next halting-place the Greeks descend into the plain, where their progress is again impeded by Tissaphernes and his troops.*

ἅμα ἐπιτηδεῖα...εἶχον] By a very common idiom the second reason for their stay is stated as an independent fact without the addition of ὅτι.

ἔμποις] Note the omission of the article. The word πεδίον refers, in all probability, to the valley of the *Khabur*.

§ 32. ἀπόμαχοι] 'disabled for action', whether by wounds or, as he adds in explanation, by the charge of the wounded. For the omission of the article, see appendix on the text.

§ 33. πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον] 'for it made a vast difference when they could sally forth from their position and repel the foe instead of having to meet his attack in the course of their march'. There can be little doubt that the above is the correct text, though Bornemann. I see, still follows the leading MS in reading διέφερον...ὀρμῶντες...πορευόμενοι, 'for they were much more successful in defending themselves by sorties from a camp than in meeting the enemy's attack in the course of a march'—a very weak form in which to state so evident a fact.

§ 35. πονηρὸν] 'an awkward thing'. Compare the phrase πονηρὰ τὰξις in § 19.

αὐτοῖς] An ethic dative, for which see note on I. 2. 3, and again I. 7. 4.

πεποδισμένοι] 'hobbled'. Cf. *Cyrus*. III. 3. 14, and *Tac. Ann.* IV. 25. In the clause which follows, the full construction would be ὑπερ ἂν ποιήσειαν εἰ λυθείσαν, while the verb ἐπισάξει refers apparently to the horsecloth of felt, which (according to the *de re eques.* VII. 5) sometimes took the place of a saddle.

θωρακισθέντα] Notice the change to the accusative after δεῖ. It is

scarcely necessary to explain so common a construction, for in a succession of clauses it is only natural that, as the dependence on the main verb becomes less and less direct, the construction should take a more general and ordinary form. For the reading of the sentence which follows, see append. on text.

§ 36. διαγγελλομένους] ‘passing the word through the ranks’. Compare the use of παρεγγυάν in IV. 7. 24 and elsewhere. With ἐκήρυξε supply κήρυξ, an omission similar to that which we have already noticed in the case of σημαίνειν.

λύειν] for λυσιτελεῖν, ‘it did not seem expedient’. The verb is found with the same construction in Soph. *Elec.* 1005, and, on the assumption that we possess the true reading, its occurrence in the present passage affords another instance of our author’s partiality for poetic expressions. In the inferior mss, however, we have the compound λυσιτελεῖν, and it may be, as Kühner suggests, that the reading of the text was derived from some abbreviation of the fuller form.

κατάγεσθαι, ‘to get back to their camp’, is in fact a nautical phrase meaning ‘to land themselves at their camp’.

§§ 37 to end. *The enemy steal a march and occupy certain heights from which they are dislodged by the Greeks.*

ἀναξεύξαντες] To be understood, as White observes, in its most general sense, as the Greeks had destroyed all their baggage-waggons before commencing their retreat.

χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον] ‘a commanding position on the right hand’. ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους is the ‘*brout* of the mountain’, or, more correctly, of one of the spurs which project from it. Compare the definition of Suidas: ἀκρωνυξ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄνυχος καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους. The scene of this conflict, which took place in the outlying mountains of Kurdistan, has been satisfactorily identified by Ainsworth and Chesney as a spur from the main range which advances beyond the plain of *Zakhu* down to the banks of the Tigris, and is bounded on the further side by the plain of *Fizirah*.

§ 39. ἡμῖν] ‘against us’, ‘in our path’: a species of ethic dative, for which see note on οὗτοι εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτὰρ ἀφίκοντο in I. 2. 4.

§ 41. ἐφόδον] ‘an approach’. It will be observed that the brow of the hill (ἀκρωνυχία) which was in the occupation of the enemy was not the actual summit of the mountain, being itself commanded by the κορυφή or peak now mentioned.

§ 42. οἱ συμπεμψαι] ‘to send with him some men from the front’. Even beginners need scarcely be reminded that οἱ is the dative of the personal pronoun οὗ, and, being an enclitic, throws back its accent on the preceding word.

§ 43. τοὺς κατὰ μέσον] ‘those stationed at the middle of the square’. The passage, as Kühner points out, means nothing more than that troops from the centre were called up to supply the place of those who had been selected for service with Xenophon. There is considerable doubt as to what troops are meant by the word τριακοσίους, Krüger assuming somewhat arbitrarily that they formed one half of the 600 men mentioned in § 21, while Larcher, with greater probability, under-

stands it as referring to a body of troops who were in personal attendance on Cheirisophus.

§ 44. ἀμιλλᾶσθαι] 'to have a race to the top' is an exact, if not very elegant, rendering.

στρατεύματος, διακελευομένων] An example of the construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, the genitive στρατεύματος being equivalent in effect to στρατώ-των. See note on τὸ στράτευμα...κόπτοντες in II. I. 6.

§ 46. (χρόνον)] Kühner and Bornemann are no doubt right in following the MSS which omit this word. Its place in the sentence is particularly objectionable on the score of rhythm. But I am by no means so positive as Kühner that the νῦν which precedes ὀλίγον is to be omitted likewise. On the contrary, he has made it indispensable to his text by placing a comma after the word γυναικας, and breaking up the sentence into three distinct clauses. There remains, however, the alternative of omitting the νῦν, and *with it the stop in question*. The sentence will thus become entirely grammatical, consisting in fact of two parallel clauses.

§ 47. χαλεπῶς] Weiske is at some pains to argue that χαλεπῶς refers solely to φέρων—a theory which is sufficiently disproved by the position of the adverb and by the rhythm of the sentence, either of which might have suggested that the word refers generally to the clause as a whole. Tr. 'while I, to my sorrow, am toiling under the weight of my shield'.

§ 48. ἔχων] 'with it'. In illustration of τὸν ἵππικόν Hutchinson compares Plut. *Vit. Philop.* 9, πεζὸς ἐν ἵππικῷ θώρακι καὶ σκευῇ βαρύτερα. In the following sentence notice the contrast which is intended between ὑπάγειν 'to lead on gently', and παρίεναι 'to press forward'.

§ 49. ὁ δὲ] sc. Ξενοφῶν. With βάσιμα (as I have already suggested in the case of ἄπορα and similar words) supply the most general subject, i.e. πράγματα or χωρία. See note on βατὰ in IV. 6. 17, where the dative τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις takes the place of τῷ ἵππῳ to which βάσιμα and ἄβασα refer in the present passage.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—6. *Tissaphernes and his troops retire before the Greeks, burning the villages on their way.*

ἐν κώμῃ] The plain in which this village lay is found precisely in the position indicated, between a spur of the main range and the low hills which again block up the plain opposite to the town called *Bezabde* by the Romans. There was formerly a bridge over the Tigris in this neighbourhood, the ruins of which still exist.

§ 2. καὶ γὰρ] These words introduce the reason of the foregoing statement: 'for in fact many herds of grazing cattle had been intercepted in the act of being conveyed to the further bank of the river'.

§ 3. ἐννοοῦμενοι] 'being apprehensive that...'. The verb occurs again with the same sense and construction in IV. 2. 13 and VI. 1. 28. After καίονεν we must supply τὰς κώμας from the previous sentence.

§ 4. ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας] 'after their sally to the rescue'. No inform-

ation is given as to the objects of this excursion. We may infer, however, from the context that it was designed for the relief of the Greeks who had been collecting plunder in the plains.

§ 5. ἐφ' ἑντας] 'conceding that the country is now our own: for whereas they stipulated in their proposals for a truce that we should refrain from burning the King's territory, they now of their own accord burn it as though they had lost all claim to its possession'. Two points should be noticed in regard to the construction of the above sentence, (i) that the negative statement μὴ καλεῖν reappears in a *positive* form in the latter clause of the sentence, (ii) that αὐτοὶ καίουσιν is a condensed expression for αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι καίοντες. As regards the spelling of the verb, Kühner pronounces in favour of καλεῖν rather than κᾶειν throughout this portion of the *Anabasis*: proving by an accumulation of examples that our author, as a rule, preferred the fuller form, and that only in three or four instances is the other recognised by any manuscript of note.

§ 6. βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ] 'to make a raid upon these destroyers'. For the distinction between οὐκοῦν and οὐκουν, and the reason why the latter is to be preferred in this passage, see note in connexion with I. 6. 7.

§§ 7—12. *Despondency of the Greeks, placed as they were between high mountains on the one side and a river of great depth on the other. A Rhodian soldier suggests a scheme for crossing the river, which on consideration is rejected as impracticable.*

ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς] 'to their quarters'. The word is used in a general sense, for, as we have already noticed, they had burnt their tents and had accustomed themselves to bivouacking in the open air. Zeune, with less probability, suggests that σκηνὰς may refer to the houses which they had occupied in the adjoining villages. The reading ἦλθον, though preserved in none but the two leading mss, is rightly preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht to the compound ἀπῆλθον, the preposition in which is worse than otiose.

συνῆλθον] The text is noteworthy, if only on account of the strange variant ἐνήσαν (which appears in four mss of exceptional authority) and the clever emendation (συνήεσαν) which it suggested to Bornemann.

δρῆ] The Carduchian mountains, now known as *Fibal Judi*. According to Ainsworth, the formidable character of this range can be fully appreciated only by the traveller who, like the Greeks, approaches it from the south.

πειρωμένοις] Cf. διαβάντι in § 15 of the present chapter. The construction has been fully explained in connexion with συνελόντι (III. 1. 38) and προΐούσι (III. 2. 22).

§ 9. (ταῦτα) πρόβατα] The pronoun is bracketed in the editions of Kühner and Vollbrecht. If retained, it will exercise a deictic force: but the best mss are in favour of its omission, and the sentence reads better without it.

τῇν διάβασιν] 'the means of crossing', though here again, as in cap. 4. 20, it may denote the actual bridge. The description which follows may be illustrated by two well-known passages of Herodotus, for the device suggested for anchoring the pontoons will recall the

means employed for steadying the barges on the Nile (Herod. II. 96), while, in the construction of its upper works, the bridge would resemble the one thrown by Xerxes across the Hellespont. It will be noticed that the participles ἀποδάρντα and φύσηθέντα are added on the principle that the relative ἃ, though constructed directly with πρόβατα, is tantamount in effect to ὧν τὰ δέρματα. Krüger, by a slight modification of this theory, adopts this explanation solely in reference to the latter participle, which he regards as equivalent to φύσηθέντων τῶν δερμάτων. But surely the force of the preposition in the compound ἀποδάρντα is also more appropriate in relation to δέρματα than πρόβατα.

§ 10. ὀρμίσας ἕκαστον] ‘I would moor each bag by attaching stones to it and dropping them like anchors into the water, whereupon, having extended them across the river and secured them to the banks at either end, I would place brushwood upon them and over that a layer of soil’. There is no question, I think, that this is the true meaning of the passage, which Krüger has needlessly complicated by explaining the participles διαγαγών and δήσας in reference to the words ἄσκον and λίθους, ‘having fastened them on opposite sides to the inflated skins’.

§ 12. χαρίεν] ‘a pretty one’, ‘a pleasant one’. The adjective, which, like ἀχάριστος in II. I. 13, is a favourite one with Plato, should in Kühner’s opinion be accentuated thus; on the other hand, when it takes the place of an adverb he would prefer to write χάριεν.

§§ 13 to end. *The Greeks retrace their steps and halt at certain villages. After receiving information as to the character of the surrounding tribes they determine to force a passage through the territory of the Carduchians.*

εἰς τοῦτοπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα] That a movement in this direction should be styled a retreat has puzzled the commentators as a contradiction in terms. The reading, however, is unassailable, and implies nothing more than a temporary deviation from their route in contrast with the retreat (southwards or eastwards) which it was the object of the Persians to force on them. The latter, accordingly, are surprised at the Greeks electing to continue their course in face of the difficulties which confronted them. The villages to which they diverged were probably at the westerly end of the plain of *Zakhu*. Layard, however, would place them in the neighbourhood of *Funduk*, which, as Ainsworth remarks, commands the chief pass of the Tigris, and could not therefore have been reached by the Greeks at the present stage of their retreat. Students will notice the force of the compound ὑπανεχώρον ‘continued to retreat gradually’.

ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν] On the assumption that we have the true reading, and it is accepted as such by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of five leading MSS, the construction must be explained by the analogy of εἶκα with an infinitive. We should have expected, however, the statement to have been put in a more definite form, and it is by no means improbable that Bornemann and Macmichael are right in preferring the vulgate: ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζοντες. In combinations like this the participle may take the case of the subject or object indifferently. See Jelf’s *Gk. Gram.* § 682. 2. For the definite future τρέφονται

and the more remote contingency expressed by the optative ἔχοιεν, see note on διέλθοιεν (IV. 1. 3).

§ 15. τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη] sub. ὁδοῦ 'were in the direction that lay towards Babylon and Media'. In regard to θερίζειν and ἐαρίζειν, the former of which refers to Ecbatana, compare *Cyrus*. VIII. 6. 22, τὸν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν χειμῶνα χρόνον διήγειν (sc. βασιλεὺς) ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπτά μῆνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἀλεινὴ ἡ χώρα· τὸν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔαρ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν Σούσοις· τὴν δὲ ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους δύο μῆνας ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις.

διαβάντι] 'if you cross the river'. See note on προῖοῦσι in III. 2. 22.

§ 16. ὅποτε μέντοι κ.τ.λ.] σφῶν and ἐκείνων are partitive genitives: 'yet when from time to time (*frequent. opt.*) they made a treaty with the satrap in the plain, some of their own number had dealings with the Carduchians, and some of the Carduchians with them'. The active ἐπιμιγνύναι is found in four good MSS, and defended by Kühner and Vollbrecht, who instance similar uses in Thuc. I. 2. 13. Bornemann and Macmichael edit ἐπιμίγνυσθαι with the majority of the MSS.

§ 17. ἐκασταχόσε] 'those who professed to know the route that led in each of the above directions'. In the sentence which commences with the words τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας, the nominative to ἔφασαν will be the captives (οἱ ἐαλωκότες) mentioned above, while τούτους will refer to the Carduchians.

§ 18. παρήγγειλαν... παραγγέλλῃ] The recurrence of the same verb is inartistic. Similar instances have been noticed in the introd. in connexion with II. 5. 24 and II. 5. 25.

NOTES.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς] For an account of these negotiations, c. II. 3. §§ 1—9. The reading ἐσπείσαντο, which takes the place of ἐποιήσαντο in a large number of the inferior mss, is rejected by Kühner and Vollbrecht as the suggestion of some critic who was dissatisfied with the more commonplace verb.

δσα...ἐπολεμήθη] 'what hostility was shewn'.

§§ 2, 3. *The Tigris being impassable and the Carduchian mountains barring their progress by the river side, they determine to cross them by what Layard calls the 'chief pass of the Tigris'.*

τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη] These Carduchians occupied the north-west portion of the modern Kurdistan. A recent traveller notices that at the present time the Kurds extend over and are scattered through a far wider region than that assigned to them by the ancient writers: tens of thousands of them are now found even west of the Euphrates, and as far south as the southern slopes of the Taurus mountains in the region of *Adiaman*: the streets of *Erzroom*, far to the north, are often crowded by these semi-savage freebooters... They have to-day very much the same characteristics that they had 2500 years ago... and in most respects bear a very close resemblance to the North American Indians, except that they are more civilized, better clothed, and live in rude huts instead of wigwams. Add to which, they dislike manual labour: and, like the Indians, are fond of roving and impatient of restraint.

ἀπότομα...ἐκρέματο] These words are to be closely connected, as is shewn by the position of the article: 'hung sheer over the stream'.

ἐδόκει δὲ] 'they determined thereupon'. Bornemann and Mac-michael edit δὲ with the mss, which is used thus to mark the *apodosis* to which it gives a certain emphasis after relative sentences or conjunctions. The usage is probably to be explained by regarding the word δὲ as akin to δῆ in the sense of *adeo*.

διὰ τῶν ὁρέων] The conclusions of Layard and Ainsworth coincide

in regard to this portion of the route : the latter of whom thinks 'there cannot be a moment's question' that the Greeks followed the main pass of the Tigris which rises immediately beyond *Fizirah ibn Umar*, and descends from thence into the valley of the river. This pass is commanded by the village of *Fynyk*, representing the ancient *Phoenica*. The alternative theory assumes them to have taken a less known but (it is said) easier route, which crosses the hills further towards the east.

§ 3. ἤκουον] Notice the force of the imperfect, 'they were constantly being told by the prisoners': and the same idea is suggested by the present participle ἀλίσκομένων for which otherwise we might have expected an aorist or perfect.

διέλθοιεν...βούλωνται...διαβήσονται] Students will do well to mark these successive changes of mood which, by passing from the oblique to the direct narration, denote three distinct degrees of probability: 'if ever they could cross the mountains, then, *supposing they should* wish it, they could *for a certainty* ford the river'.

ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ] The position of these words shews that in sense they go rather with the preceding than with the following clause: 'if they could once cross the mountains and *find themselves* in Armenia'.

περίτασι] i.e. τὰς πηγάς.

καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον] There is considerable difficulty as to the reading of this passage. The mss give ἔστιν οὕτω στενόν, which is unintelligible, while the emendation I have accepted with Kühner, Vollbrecht and others is (as Macmichael notices) somewhat inconsistent with the fact that from the sources of the Tigris the Greeks travelled 135 miles before they reached the Euphrates at all, while the actual head of the river is 60 miles higher. In a former edition I had myself adopted a different emendation (ἔστιν ὅπου τι στενόν) with the slight alteration of οἶ for ὅπου. The allusion would then be to the 'narrow strip of land' formed by mount Niphates which is situated between the two rivers.

§§ 4—9. *The Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi without any opposition at first on the part of the inhabitants.*

ὥδε] The force of the demonstrative is by no means clear. Kühner considers that it is explained by the participle πειρώμενοι, but I much prefer to understand it in reference to the details which follow in §§ 5 and 6. If this view be correct, the explanatory clauses are, by a not uncommon idiom, introduced by the particle δέ: ἥνικα δ' ἦν κ.τ.λ.

πρὶν...καταλαβείν] The constructions of πρὶν are as follows:

(1) with an infinitive, or an accusative and infinitive, when it denotes simply relation of time to an action either conceived or effected: e.g. πολλοὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι πρὶν δῆλοι γενέσθαι οἳ οἱ ἦσαν, and similarly the passage in the text.

(2) with an indicative, when it refers to a condition or a change which has already taken place: e.g. οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην μετεπέμψαντο.

(3) If πρὶν after a negative sentence denotes a condition which has not yet taken place, on the fulfilment of which something else depends, then πρὶν takes the subjunctive either *with* or *without* ἂν, or, if a *past* tense has preceded, the optative *without* ἂν: e.g. οὐ πρότερον οἶονται

γιγνώσκειν, πρὶν ἂν ἐπισκέψωνται and ὁ Κῦρος ὑπέσχετο μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι.

§ 5. ἀμφὶ τὴν τελ. φυλ.] ‘about the last watch’. The preposition denotes *vagueness* whether in regard to time or place. With the Greeks, as Kühner points out, the *third* watch would be the last: with the Romans, the *fourth*.

ὅσον] i.e. τοσούτον τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον κ.τ.λ. It is scarcely correct in explaining this construction to say that ὅσον is simply an equivalent for ὥστε. The accusative and infinitive really contain the explanation of ὅσον, ‘so much of the night was left as *is represented by the fact* that they could...’

ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως] The word παράγγελσις denotes a special order to the troops which, to ensure silence, was passed by man to man along the lines. Compare the force of παρὰ in ἐπιπάρειμι (εἶμι), a verb which is used of a general *visiting* the ranks, and again in παραγγέλλω towards the end of § 16.

§ 6. ἡγήτο τοῦ στρατεύματος] ‘proceeded to take the lead of the army’.

τὸ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν] ‘his own party’. Most editors supply *στράτευμα*, but, to judge from the corresponding phrases in Homer, there is no need to understand a special substantive. In reference to the forms *γυμνῆς* and *γυμνήτης* (whence *γυμνήτας* and *γυμνήτας*), Kühner notices that, while both are found in Xenophon, the latter is unquestionably the one which he preferred.

ἄνω πορευομένων] ‘while they were making their way upwards’. By substituting a genitive absolute for the dative which would naturally follow ἐπίσπειτο, greater emphasis is thrown on the participle as in the corresponding passages of I. 4. 12, and V. 3. 7.

§ 7. ἀναβαίνει] The historic present, which is used in place of a past tense to give a greater reality to the narrative. Being virtually equivalent to a past tense, it is rightly followed by αἰσθέσθαι rather than by the present αἰσθάνεσθαι: add to which, the aorist further implies that the action was complete.

ὑφηγεῖτο] ‘led the way slowly’, as otherwise he would have parted himself from the rest of the troops who were still ascending. ‘Drew a little ahead’ is Macmichael’s rendering, which misses I think the meaning of the writer, who is contrasting the rapidity of the ascent with the easier pace they fell into after reaching the summit.

τὸ ὑπερβάλλον] We may understand μέρος with most of the editors, though (as I have already noticed in § 6) it is not necessary to do so. Students will notice the position of the article and be careful in consequence to join αἰεὶ with ἐφέλπετο and not with ὑπερβάλλον, for, although this is one of the cases in which the sense might possibly be improved by connecting the adverb and participle, I am far from agreeing with Kühner, who in his rendering of the passage practically waives the distinction: *ut quaeque eius pars iugum superabat*. Translate: ‘and the portion of the army that was scaling the height followed him in due succession.’ For this common use of αἰεὶ in the sense of ‘from time to time’, cf. τὸν αἰεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα (iii. 2. 31), and similar expressions.

§ 8. πολλὰ ἦν] Notice the position of the article: 'now of provisions there were plenty to take'.

κατεσκευασμένοι] opposed to παρεσκευασμένοι, as the latter compound is used of *temporary* rather than *permanent* furniture. Notice also the distinction between the substantives οἰκία and οἶκος, the former word denoting the *material* building, the latter the *household* whom it contains.

ἔφερον] A part of the phrase ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν 'to take as plunder'. He uses in this place only the latter half of the expression, as nothing has been said of *live* stock to which the word ἄγειν would particularly refer.

ὑποφειδόμενοι] 'being inclined to spare them (in order to see) whether possibly...' A common ellipse, which suggests the right explanation of a difficult passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 414, ἐγερτὶ κινῶν ἀνδρ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιρρόθοις Κακοῖσιν, εἴ τις τοῦδ' ἀφειδήσοι πόνου, 'each man bestirring his neighbour to see whether he would be unsparing of his pains'.

διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας] Notice again the position of the article, 'through their country as that of friends'.

§ 9. ὅτῳ] is Bornemann's reading, and suits ἐπιτυχάνοι better than ὅ τι which is retained by one or two of the other editors. For the singular ὅτῳ in connexion with ἐπιτήδεια, cf. I. I. 5, and Thuc. VII. 29, πάντας ἐξῆς, ὅτῳ ἐντύχοιεν, κτείνοντες. ἐπιτυχάνοι and ἐλάμβανον are both *frequentative*.

καλούντων] 'gave no heed when they called'. καλούντων is probably a gen. abs., though ὑπακούειν in the sense of to 'answer to a call' occasionally takes the genitive.

§§ 10—13. Are harassed by a party of the Carduchians, and take measures to protect their march.

σκοταῖοι] 'in the dark'. An adjective used adverbially. Compare the employment of ἄσμενος in II. I. 16.

ἐγένετο] 'had lasted throughout the day'. The words εἰς τὰς κόμας, which in some few editions are inserted anew after the substantive κατάβασις, are omitted as tautologous by Bornemann and Macmichael. The reader will remember that in point of fact the aorist of γίγνομαι is equivalent in sense to an ordinary pluperfect.

§ 11. πλείους συνελέγησαν] 'if however on this occasion they had assembled in larger numbers, a great portion of the army would have been in danger of destruction'. Let me remind the beginner to master once for all the three chief forms of the conditional proposition:

(i) denotes a *certain* consequence: e.g. εἰάν τοῦτο σκοπήτε, εὐρήσετε.

(ii) represents what is said as quite *uncertain*, or *merely possible*: e.g. ἐπιλήσμων ἂν εἶην, εἰ οἰηθείην κ.τ.λ.

(iii) represents what is said as quite *unreal* and *impossible*: e.g. εἴ τι εἶχον, ἐδίδουν ἂν.

For the various modifications of the above, cf. Curt. *smaller Gk. Gram.* p. 168, §§ 270—282.

οὕτως] 'as they were' rather than 'accordingly' as it is commonly translated. Notice the aorist ὑπλίσθησαν 'took up their quarters for the night'.

πυρὰ] These beacon fires were distinct from those called *φρυκτωρλαί*, which latter could be elevated on occasion.

συνεώρων] 'kept each other in view', i.e. by the aid of fire signals. Lit. 'had a *connected* view of each other'. The word *ἀλλήλους* refers solely to the *Carduchi*.

§ 12. *ἔχοντας*] 'with those of the cattle that were necessary and in the best condition'. The order of the sentence is as follows: *πορεύεσθαι τε ἔχοντας...καὶ ἀφεῖναι πάντα ὅποσα κ.τ.λ.* It is noteworthy that in all the MSS, with the exception of the two best, the article is repeated before the adjective *δυνατώτατα*. Macmichael accordingly retains it, though, as the two adjectives are in all probability coextensive terms, I have preferred to omit it with Kühner and Vollbrecht.

αἰχμάλωτα] is here an adjective.

§ 13. *πολλὰ ὄντα*] 'for the cattle and the prisoners by their number retarded the march'. Notice the plural *ἐποίουν* which is used out of regard to the *meaning* rather than the *gender* of *αἰχμάλωτα*. Macmichael and the other editors strangely enough let the plural pass without comment here and elsewhere. In other authors where this construction occurs it may be similarly explained, e.g. Thuc. IV. 88, *τὰ τέλη Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεμψαν*, where *τὰ τέλη* is virtually equivalent to *οἱ ἐν τέλει ὄντες*, the 'Lacedaemonian authorities'. The same explanation will hold good in regard to another passage of the present book (IV. 2. 20), but fails when we come to apply it to similar cases in the *Anabasis* (e.g. I. 7. 17). We can therefore only notice the construction as a peculiarity of the author, for further examples of which see II. 2. 15 and *Introd.* II.

δὲ] = *ὁ*, *also*, as in § 2, 'and many *too* were precluded from fighting'. This, as I have previously noticed, is a safer explanation than to take *καὶ* in the sense of *even*, and regard *δὲ* as the simple conjunction. *οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις*, 'the men in charge of them'.

πορίζεσθαι τε καὶ φέρεσθαι] It is difficult to determine whether these verbs are middle or passive in the present instance, but the former is I think more probable.

δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα] 'and when it had so seemed'. According to Madvig the word *ταῦτα* is an irregular addition to the ordinary accus. absol. *δόξαν*, in place of *τούτων δοξάντων* which is the commoner form, cf. *Hell.* V. 2. 24. Two other explanations of the construction are possible, (1) that *ταῦτα* is used adverbially for *οὕτω*, or (2) that, though it is to be taken generally with *δόξαν*, it is in reality governed by *ποιεῖν*. There are passages, however (e.g. Plat. *Protag.* 314, c), which the last of the above theories would altogether fail to explain.

§§ 14—18. *Continued assaults on the part of the enemy.*

ὑποστάντες] 'having planted themselves'. *εὗρίσκοιεν* like *ἐπιτυγχάνοι* in § 9 and *ἐπικέοντο* in § 16 is the optative of *repetition*.

ἔκλεψεν] 'had secreted'—not from the present scrutiny, but on the occasion of the original order noticed in § 12.

τὰ μὲν τι] 'partly', 'at one time'. The rhythm of the sentence would be conclusive against joining *τι* with *μαχόμενοι*, even if the phrase were a less familiar one in this particular combination.

§ 15. *εἰς*] lit. 'against the morrow.' See note on *εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν* in I. 7. 1.

§ 16. ἀναχάζοντες] A poetical word which appears again in a deponent form in vii. § 10: 'what with pursuing one minute and the next falling back'.

παρήγγειλεν] 'passed the word for a halt'. Cf. παραγγέλλω in § 5. The imperfect παρήγγελλεν, which is distinctly preferable to the aorist in connexion with the context, is edited by Bornemann and Macmichael on the authority of one good MS. The word θαμινά is poetical, like ἀναχάζοντες in the previous clause and διαμπερές in § 18.

§ 17. τότε δέ] 'but on one occasion'. Lit. 'on the occasion I mean': a common use in Thucydides when the writer is incidentally referring to a subject from which he had digressed. A note on the employment of this idiom will be found in connexion with II. 3. 1.

ιδεῖν παρελθόντι] 'to go to the front and enquire into the cause of the haste'. For this common sense of παρέρχομαι cf. Demos. περὶ ὀνόματος § 999, ὅτε παρήλθον ἐς Ταύνας οἱ στρατιῶται, and an important passage in II. 4. 12, for the explanation of which we are mainly dependent on the meaning of this particular verb. See note in Append. II.

§ 18. στολάδος] This was a jerkin made of leather or skin, and, owing to its lightness, peculiarly adapted for slingers. The form of the word varies between σπολάς and στολάς, the latter being quoted by Suidas in connexion with this passage, though elsewhere the authorities are in favour of the form σπολάς. See note on III. 3. 20.

διαμπερές εἰς τὴν κεφ.] not 'right through his head', as Watson carelessly translates it, but 'right through (the helmet and) into the head'. Understood thus, the preposition εἰς is forcible enough, while its connexion with διαμπερές is altogether consistent with the usage of Homer. Compare, too, such passages as the following: διαμπερές διὰ μέσου σφονδύλου (Plat. *Repub.* 616, E). I have therefore decided to retain it with Bornemann, Macmichael and the majority of the MSS.

§§ 19—22. *Altercation between Xenophon and Cheirisophus.*

ὥσπερ εἶχεν] 'just as he was', i.e. 'without delay'.

φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι] 'to retreat fighting'. In the Greek idiom the word ἅμα goes closely with the participle, 'retreating the while'.

καλῶ τε κάγαθῶ] 'two soldiers good and true'. The phrase describes the perfection of manhood: the word καλὸς marking outward excellence of form, the word ἀγαθὸς goodness of character. For other modifications of this familiar phrase, see note on II. 6. 20. Students should notice the force of the tense in τεθνάτην which denotes the *state* of death: 'are *lying* dead'.

ἀνέλεσθαι] The regular word for recovering the dead after battle. Cf. ἀναίρεσις. The words αὐτὰ and πρὸς ταῦτα, which I have bracketed in this and the following clause, are omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of three good MSS.

§ 20. αὐτῇ] 'and the road you see before you is the only one, steep as it is'.

The word τοσοῦτον represents the scene as actually before them: 'all that crowd of men who have occupied and guard the outlet'.

ἐκβασιν] This word has created considerable difficulty, as the Greeks had not yet reached the *pass* of Chelek properly so called. Kühner offers the rather trivial suggestion that to the Greeks at any rate it was

an *egress* from their former position. The true explanation is no doubt furnished by White, who notices that the outlet from the valley of the Tigris formed in fact the commencement of the pass, so that in one sense it was an outlet, and in another an approach to the top of the mountain. On the other hand, if we accept the rival theory noticed in connexion with § 2, they would now be reaching the head of some minor valley—possibly the *Mar Yuhannah*—which leads from the north-east into the basin of the Tigris.

§ 21. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον] 'this then was my aim.' There is no necessity to explain ταῦτα on this occasion as equivalent to διὰ ταῦτα, for it may equally well be a direct accusative after ἔσπευδον.

οὐ φασιν εἶναι] 'say there is no other road'. The beginner should notice this use of the negative with εἰώω, φημι and certain other words. The negative and the verb cohere so closely that they form together only one idea, and thus a directly contrary sense is given to the verb.

§ 22. ἀναπνεῦσαι] 'which gave us also time to take our breath'. The frequent recurrence of poetical words in this portion of the *Anabasis* is very remarkable: e.g. the present verb ἀναπνεῦσαι, θαμινὰ § 16, ὁλοτρόχους ἀμαξιαλούς ii. 3, μαστὸς ii. 6, and many others.

§§ 23—28. Examination of the prisoners, who tell them of a height, which a body of volunteers are sent forward to occupy.

ἤλεγχον] like ἔκρινον, 'proceeded to question them'. διαλαμβάνειν is often simply 'to arrest a man' by seizing him with both arms, like the Latin *complecti*. In the present case however we should clearly give a fuller force to the preposition, 'taking them separately'.

φόβων] 'though many tortures were inflicted upon him'. φόβος is not unfrequently used of the act which causes the fear, i.e. of pain inflicted as well as threatened.

κατεσφάγη] κατασφάζειν is to kill by cutting the throat.

§ 24. τυγχάνει] ἐτύγχανε al. with three MSS. It has been proposed by some of the translators to separate αὐτῷ τυγχάνει from the participle ἐκδεδομένη. But the latter is required for τυγχάνει, while αὐτῷ may be readily explained as an ethic dative, 'because his daughter had been given in marriage to a man in the neighbourhood'. At the same time, it may be well to notice the rule laid down by Dr Donaldson in relation to τυγχάνειν, who, in this and all other connexions, would assign to the verb a somewhat stronger force: 'because he has at this conjuncture a married daughter who is living with her husband in that neighbourhood'. It is characteristic of Xenophon that he gives but a few words in passing to one of the grandest examples on record of heroic self-devotion.

πορεύεσθαι] The full construction is as follows: δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποσχυλοῖς (ὥστε αὐτὰ) πορεύεσθαι.

§ 25. ἔσεσθαι] Notice the change from the optative, which denotes the mere supposition, to the more direct ἔσεσθαι representing a consequence of the certainty of which the speaker is assured. The legitimate, but less forcible, sequence would have been represented by ἂν with the infinitive. In § 3 I have noticed a still more striking instance of this change.

§ 26. συγκαλέσαντας] Xenophon and Cheirisophus are the subject of the sentence.

πελαστὰς] is here used as an adjective, and, like the genitive τῶν ὀπλίτων, serves as an epithet to λοχαγούς, 'some from the targeteers and others from the heavy-armed force'.

τὰ παρόντα] 'the present emergency'.

έθέλει] έθέλοι άν Kühn. with a single ms. Bornemann and Mac-michael adopt the reading in the text, and, if any change were necessary, I should revert by preference to the simple optative, which is equally grammatical and supported by stronger evidence than Kühner's reading.

ίποστὰς] 'by special compact', 'under certain engagements'.

§ 27. αντίστασιάζων αὐτοῖς] 'pressing his claims against theirs'.

§ 28] γυμνητῶν] Kühner edits ταξιαρχῶν with three mss, and explains γυμνητῶν as the genitive after it. But the construction of the participle is awkward in this connexion, and I much prefer the reading of the text.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—15. *The Greeks, in spite of the continued resistance of the enemy, occupy in succession the three heights which command the pass.*

οἱ δ' έκέλευον] The οἱ refers to Xenophon and Cheirisophus, the αὐτοῖς to Aristonymus and the party of volunteers.

συντίθενται] 'and they arrange with them that, in case they should gain possession of the summit, they are to guard the position during the night, and give a signal by trumpet at the break of day'. The middle συντίθενται might denote either of the two contracting parties, as appears by its use at the commencement of § 2. Here, however, the position of the verb in the sentence, and its connexion with the accusative τοὺς μὲν άνω όντας, leave no doubt that Xenophon and Cheirisophus are the nominatives of the sentence.

συμβολήσεν έκβαίνοντες] 'while the generals in their turn would sail forth in a body to their assistance with all possible speed'. I have no hesitation in adopting with Kühner and Bornemann this conjecture of Muretus. The chief objections to Long's reading συμβολῆς ένεκεν βαίνοντες are (i) that it leaves the sentence without an infinitive, for to supply ίέναι from the preceding clause is extremely harsh, and (ii) the extraordinary character of the phrase συμβολῆς ένεκεν 'with a view to an engagement', the use of which even in poetry would require explanation.

§ 2. συνθέμενοι] This may refer generally to the two parties (οἱ μὲν...Ξενοφῶν δέ) or, as is more probable, to the volunteers only. In the former case, the construction will be an ordinary example of partitive apposition like those noticed in I. 7. 15 and II. 1. 15.

οἱ περιούντες] 'their friends who were going round'.

§ 3. διαβάντας...έκβαίνειν] 'which they had to cross before they could climb the hill'. They were at this time so placed that they could see in the distance the outlet (φανερὰ έκβασις), beyond which lay the table-land of Armenia. After dividing his forces, Xenophon with the

rearguard crossed the ravine, and made for this opening by the ordinary mountain track, while the volunteers, led by a native guide, took a circuitous route which was to land them at the same spot.

ὄλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους] ‘round stones, a waggon-load each of them more or less’, or, as some of the commentators prefer to understand it, ‘stones so large that they could be transported *only in carts* and not by the hand’. The word ὄλοιτροχος is Homeric and will be found fully discussed in Buttm. *Lex.* Such derivations as ὄλος τρέχω, ὄλοος τρέχω are now generally rejected in favour of εἶλω (volvo) and τρέχω.

(Λίθους)] Vollbrecht and Kühner omit this accusative: indeed it surprises me that any editor should have retained it as part of the text. Its position can scarcely be defended if it is to be taken with ὄλοιτρόχους, while as a fresh substantive it is weak to a degree.

διεσφενδονῶντο] ‘which striking in their descent against the rocks were scattered as if from a sling’.

§ 4. εἰ...δύναιτο] The optative is hypothetical rather than, as Kühner suggests, frequentative: ‘in case their attempt should not succeed in this direction they were trying their best at other points’. It will be remembered that this refers solely to the troops under Xenophon, who, by a series of feints, were diverting the enemy from the quarter threatened by the force of volunteers.

οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο] This adverbial use of οὐδὲν is a favourite one with Xenophon. Cf. VII. 1. 25, and a note on οὐδὲν φαῦλον in VI. 6. 12.

δὲ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς] ‘at intervals throughout the night’. The student should carefully note the difference between the accusative and genitive in this and similar phrases.

§ 5. καταδιώξαντες] ‘chased the others *down the hill*’.

ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες] ‘in the impression they had gained the actual summit’.

§ 6. αὐτόθεν] ‘from where they were’, ‘from their present position’.

§ 7. ὑπέβαινεν] ‘was *beginning* to break’. Cf. ὑποφειδόμενοι in I. § 8. καὶ γάρ] This connects what follows with the word σιγῇ above and introduces a new fact to account for their unobserved approach: ‘I may add too there was a mist so that they came upon them unobserved’.

ἐπεφθέγγατο] ‘sounded the charge’. For the force of the verb ἀλαλάζειν, see note on I. 8. 18, while the rare use of εἰς in the phrase which follows has been noticed and illustrated in *Introd.* II. p. 20.

φεύγοντες] ‘abandoned the pass, and in their flight some few of them fell’. In the wish to be concise the author has given us a badly constructed sentence. It is clear from the context that only a portion of the retreating party were slain: but, taken by themselves, the words could only mean ‘*all* the retreating party—few as they were—were slain’.

§ 8. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον] Cf. τὸ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν in I. 6.

ἐκαστοι] Students will observe this use of the plural and its special significance as denoting separate *parties* of men, each of the generals being attended by his particular band of followers.

ἀνίμων] Derived from ἰμάς, a leathern strap used for drawing water: ‘they drew one another up with their spears’.

§ 9. συνέμιξαν] ‘joined company with their friends who had previously secured the position’.

§ 10. διεξείχθαι] Notice the change of tense, which gives *reality* to the result by regarding it as an accomplished fact: 'or *find themselves* separated'.

ἀν ἐπορεύθησαν] 'might have gone by the same route as the rest of the army'. Here we find a deviation from the regular form of the conditional proposition, the latter clause in the sentence being only another way of saying 'if they had not been impeded by their cattle'.

§ 11. οὐθίους τοῖς λόχοις] 'they make an assault upon the hill with their companies advancing in files', the object of this manoeuvre being (as White observes) to distract the attention of the enemy by the number of the attacking columns. The phrase is a common one (cf. *Cyrop.* III. 2. 6, *Anab.* IV. 3. 17), and is equivalent to the *recti ordines* of Livy. On the other hand in the *phalanx* the men stood in line and presented an extended front to the enemy.

ἀφοδόν] 'a way of escape'. For εἰ βούλουτο φεύγειν, cf. note on εἰ μὴ ταύτη δύναιντο, § 4.

§ 12. τέως μὲν] To be taken with ἐτόξενον καὶ ἔβαλλον. Contrast this use of ἕκαστος with that of the plural in § 8. *There* they went in parties: *here* each man makes the ascent by himself. The singular ἕκαστος is often joined with a verb in the plural when it is intended to convey the idea of many subjects taken separately.

ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο] 'they did not however admit them to close quarters'.

καὶ ἕτερον] 'when they saw another'. καὶ, like *et* in Latin, is often used as a temporal conjunction to shew at what point the matter stood when a change or new event occurred. See note on VII. 1. 12.

§ 13. ἐννοήσας] Like ἐννοοῦμενοι in III. 5. 3, the verb suggests a reflection which is accompanied by fear. He would probably have used the simpler participle φοβηθεῖς but that his thoughts were dwelling on the device which his fears had suggested.

καὶ πάλιν] The καὶ is usually understood thus: 'might *actually* take it again and attack the baggage cattle as they went past'. I am inclined however to think that a far simpler explanation is available, viz. to supply αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν λόφον) after λαβόντες, in which case the καὶ is required to connect the optatives καταλίποι and ἐπιθοῦντο.

ἐπὶ πολὺ] 'extended over a long reach of ground', i.e. 'formed a long train'.

§ 14. τῆς νυκτὸς] 'which had been surprised *in the night*'. The account of this is given in § 5. For the structure of the entire phrase and the slight displacement of the genitive νυκτὸς, compare such passages as the following: ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ in § 18, and ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου in VI. 6. 19.

§ 15. ἀπολιπεῖν] 'that the enemy had left their position through fear of being surrounded and besieged in it. However, as the event proved, they had seen from the summit what was happening to the rearguard of the Greeks and were making their way to fall upon it'.

§§ 16—21. *After continued fighting and losses the Greek troops are reunited.*

ὑπάγειν] 'to move *slowly forwards*', i.e. by the narrow path mentioned in § 6, which ran along the foot of the hill.

ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ] For the position of these words which connects them in some degree with *προελθόντας*, compare note on ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ (i. 3), where, as in the case before us, the construction is a pregnant one like those noticed in connexion with I. 1. 5 and I. 2. 2; 'Accordingly he told them to advance along the road (till they came) to a level spot and then to halt there'. The phrase *θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα* is used of three distinct manœuvres, (i) of *stacking arms* preparatory to forming an encampment, (ii) of *posting troops under arms* in the presence of an enemy, and (iii) of *surrendering arms* after a defeat.

§ 17. τεθνᾶσι] Cf. note on τεθνάτην (i. 19). The aorist ἀλόμενοι, though of rare occurrence in Xenophon, is preferred by Kühner in the present instance, and suits the context better than ἀλλόμενοι which appears in the majority of the mss.

§ 18. τῷ μαστῷ] This substantive is governed by the preposition in ἀντίπορον, and the position of the dative is easily to be explained by the analogy of the phrases referred to in connexion with § 14. Similar instances occur in the tragedians (cf. Soph. *Ai.* 573 and Eur. *Hipp.* 683), and, as we have already noticed the frequency of poetic phrases in this portion of the *Anabasis*, it is unnecessary to alter ἀντίπορον with Schneider into the more ordinary expression τὸν ἀντιπέραν λόφον. Add to which, the latter phrase is complete in itself, and would increase rather than diminish the difficulty caused by the presence of the dative.

§ 19. ἐφ' ᾧ] 'on the understanding that he would not'. The complete phrase was ἐπὶ τοῖτῳ ὥστε... and hence it is usually followed by an infinitive, for which however in Thucydides and Herodotus we occasionally find the future indicative.

συνεβρύησαν] 'all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had flocked together'. The beginner will notice this pregnant sense of the preposition ἐκ, 'all the dwellers *in* the neighbourhood had flocked *out* of it'. The position of the words οἱ πολέμοι would alone make it impossible to accept the reading of some of the editors, who write οἱ for οἱ and regard ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμοι as a part of the preceding sentence.

§ 20. ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο] This must of course refer to the Greek army which had been gradually making its way to the summit of the hill (παρήει). But the change of nominative is so awkward and abrupt that I am strongly inclined to regard the words οἱ πολέμοι as an interpolation, suggested apparently by their occurrence in the following sentence. Conformably with this view, Bornemann and Macmichael have enclosed them in brackets, in which case both the former and the latter verb may be explained in reference to the Greek troops.

τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο] The party mentioned in § 16, and again as τοὺς συντεταγμένους in § 21. The word ὅπλα is equivalent to ὀπλίται, which justifies the use of the plural ἔκειντο. Cf. τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἐποίουν in i. 13. Other examples, which this explanation fails to meet, have been noticed in *Intro.* II. and a note on II. 2. 15.

ἀπέλιπεν] 'left him in the lurch' is surely the most natural rendering. Schneider, however, understands it to mean that the man 'fell behind' owing to the rapidity of the descent.

§ 21. προβεβλημένους] sc. τὴν ἀσπίδα, 'covering them both with his

shield', like ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη in VII. 4. 16. Some of the commentators, however, prefer to understand the participle as a simple passive: 'placing himself in front of both'. The adjective Λουσιεύς is supposed to refer to Λουσόλ, a town in Arcadia.

§§ 22—end. *After a night's rest they continue their march under the same difficulties as before. A description of the Carduchian archers.*

ὥστε] for which Schneider reads ὃν, is not to be lightly rejected, more especially as it appears in all the MSS, and contains a forcible explanation of the adjectives δαψιλέσι and πολὺς: 'for there was wine in such abundance that the inhabitants kept it in cisterns lined with cement'. These (according to Ainsworth) were usually pear-shaped, and have been variously regarded as water-tanks, sarcophagi, &c. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Ecol.* 154 remarks that the same custom was prevalent in Greece: 'Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρύγματα ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ποιοῦντες εὐρύχωρα καὶ στρογγύλα καὶ τετράγωνα καὶ ταῦτα κοινοῦντες οἶνον ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἔλαιον εἰς αὐτά, καὶ ταῦτα λάκκους ἐκάλουν.

§ 23. ὥστε ἀπέδοσαν] Students will notice the difference between the *infinitive* and the *indicative* after ὥστε, the former denoting the result as *contemplated*, the indicative as *realised*: 'managed so that they *should* restore..., managed so that they *did* restore'.

ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν] 'to the best of their power', lit. 'considering their available resources'.

§ 24. ὅπη εἶη] 'wherever there was a narrow pass, they beset it and obstructed their march'. It is better, I think, to take παρόδους of the successive marches of the Greek army rather than in the sense of *mountain passes*, a meaning which is little better than a repetition of χωρίον and not very applicable to the verb ἐκώλουν.

§ 25. ἐκβαίνων] 'leaving the track and making for the higher ground relieved the vanguard from this obstruction to their progress'. In determining the reading of the words which follow, our choice lies between ἀπόφραξιν τῆς ὁδοῦ and ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου, the former of which is preferred by Kühner on the authority of four good MSS. But, apart from the question of the external evidence which is not conclusive either way, the employment of the more definite substantive in § 26 is surely a strong argument for accepting the reading παρόδου with Vollbrecht, Bornemann, and Macmichael, since it is the well-known custom of Xenophon in describing the recurrence of a manœuvre to repeat the phrase precisely in its original form.

§ 27. ἀποφεύγειν] 'so as to make good their escape *with only a small start*'. ἐγγύθεν = ἐξ ὀλίγου, 'from a short distance'. Here again we have the infinitive after ὥστε, as the writer is describing the fact as *possible* rather than *realised*.

§ 28. προσβαίνοντες] The manuscript reading προβαίνοντες is explicable, though Kühner and Vollbrecht are probably right in preferring the former compound which appears in the corresponding passage of Diod. (III. 8): 'and they drew the strings, whenever they shot, stepping forward and with the left foot planted against the end of the bow'. This position was necessitated by the extraordinary length of the arrow which could not have been pulled to the head if the ordinary posture had been adopted. The above interpretation is placed beyond a doubt

by the following passage from Arrian, *Indic.* 16, τὸ τέξον κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, οὕτως ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀναγαγόντες· ὁ γὰρ οὗτος ὀλίγον ἀποδέων τριπήχεος. The theory of Schneider, that a species of crossbow is intended, does not at all agree with the description in the text, though Kühner and others have quoted his remarks with evident approval.

ἀκοντίοις] ‘and the Greeks, whenever they got hold of them, used them as javelins, fitting them with loops for the purpose’. These ἀγκύλαι were the leathern straps or thongs by which the javelins were hurled. Whether they were identical with the Latin *amentum* is still a disputed point. The best authorities think *not*, regarding *amentum* as a less technical and more general word.

χρησιμώτατοι] i.e. to the Greeks.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—7. *The Greeks encamp in villages overlooking the river Centrites. Are threatened by the Persians from the opposite bank, and by the Carduchians in their rear.*

τοῦ παρὰ] ‘which extends along the river Centrites’, i.e. the Eastern Tigris. There is some little difficulty in fixing the precise spot at which the Greeks effected their crossing. On the assumption that they had been following hitherto the valley of the Tigris, it is probable (as Layard suggests) that they first attempted the ford in the neighbourhood of *Til* where the Tigris and Centrites join, and, finding it impracticable for the reasons described, ultimately crossed higher up at a point further towards the east. According to Ainsworth, there are many places in this neighbourhood where the river is fordable, one of which is of special importance as forming a portion of the highway to *Saart*. The *Centrites* is now known as the *Buthan chai*.

τῶν ὀρέων...τῶν Καρδούχων] are to be connected in translation, and were only separated by the writer on account of the similarity of termination, or, it may be, for the sake of emphasis.

§ 2. πολλὰ...μνημονεύοντες] ‘talking much of their past troubles’. μνημονεύειν takes an accusative of the *thing said* and a genitive of the things or persons *concerning whom* it is said. As however either of these may be omitted on occasion, it is quite unnecessary to regard πολλὰ as the object of μνημονεύοντες and πόνων as a partitive genitive.

ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας] To make up this number it is necessary to conclude with Krüger that the narrative contained in ii. §§ 24—27 comprises also the events of the two following days.

οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα] I have little doubt that in the termination of the word σύμπαντα we have lost the article τὰ which originally followed it. Otherwise the construction is irregular, and we have nothing to couple τὰ σύμπαντα closely with the succeeding words. If we retain the present text we must understand ἔπαθον with the latter clause of the sentence.

ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων] Yet, as Rennell notices in his illustrations of this expedition, it was to the mountainous region of the Carduchians

that the Greeks owed their preservation from the Persians whose cavalry could not operate on the hilly ground.

§ 3. ἐξωπλισμένους] 'completely armed'. This, as White observes, may perhaps be an allusion to the troops called *cataphracti* who are described by Propertius and others as protecting both themselves and their horses with coats of mail.

§ 4. Ὀρόντου] The satrap of Armenia. This form of the genitive is preferred by Kühner, while Bornemann edits Ὀρόντα.

Ἀρτούχου] He is mentioned in the *Cyrop.* v. 3. 38 as a chief of the Hyrcani, from which Schneider and others infer that the Mardonii lived on the Caspian Sea near the borders of Hyrcania. But the reading *Μαρδόνιοι* is not altogether free from suspicion, since the best MS of all gives in place of it *Καρδούχιοι*, while in one of inferior authority *Μυγδόνιοι* occurs as a variant. The *Chaldaei* are apparently identical with the tribe mentioned elsewhere as the *Chalybes*.

§ 5. ὥσπερ χειροποίητος] 'to all appearance artificial'. This may be the very causeway noticed by Ainsworth as forming a portion of the highway to *Saïrt*. He describes it as carried up the face of a limestone rock just beyond the ruins of a bridge over which lay formerly the road to *Radwan*.

§ 6. οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι] The negative οὐτε is answered by τε below, as *neque* is followed by *et* in Latin, while the words εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμὸς form a parenthesis. 'And it was not possible for them to handle their weapons in the water—otherwise the stream swept them away—while if any tried to carry them on their heads they became exposed to the arrows of the enemy'.

εἰ δὲ μὴ] 'otherwise', 'if they did'. εἰ δὲ μὴ may denote the opposite to a preceding condition, even if it be a negative one as in the present instance.

οὖν] is *resumptive* after the previous digression: 'accordingly they abandoned the attempt and encamped where they were along the river side'. This use of οὖν occurs frequently when the latter clause of a sentence states the *consequence* of the former, and in such cases it is treated in some of the grammars as a distinct construction.

παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν] For the accusative compare note on § 1.

§ 7. ἦσαν] 'but on the hill where they themselves had been encamped throughout the previous night they saw the Carduchians assembled in large numbers under arms'.

τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν] For the force of the present, see a reference to διαβαίνειν in the note to ἐκδύντες (§ 12): 'would attack those who should attempt the passage'.

§§ 8—14. *The dream of Xenophon and its supposed realisation.*

περιρύνῃται] Sub. ἔδοξαν, 'to have fallen off from him of their own accord'. Macmichael compares *circumscindere* in Liv. II. 55.

διαβαίνειν] 'could move his legs at pleasure'. The preposition in διαβαίνειν denotes the action of the legs in walking.

§ 9. ὥς τάχ. ἕως ὑπέφαιεν] like the Latin *cum maxime*: 'just when', 'at the very moment when' the dawn was breaking.

ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου] 'from the first'. As I have already noticed it is unnecessary in these cases to supply a special substantive, but, if any-

thing were required, it would be a general word like χρόνου rather than *ιερείου* which is suggested by some of the editors.

§ 10. αὐτῷ] i.e. *Ξενοφῶντι*.

ἐπεγείραντα] Sub. *τινὰ* by anticipation from *τίς*. '(It was allowable) for any one to awake him and tell his tale, supposing he knew anything of matters that might affect the campaign'.

§ 11. καὶ τότε ἔλεγον] 'so on this occasion they proceeded to inform him'. This explanatory or illustrative use of *καὶ* occurs frequently in Xenophon, e.g. in VII. 8. 4, where it appears twice in the course of the same section.

ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ] 'to make a fire'.

κατίδουεν] This compound is specially used of any *chance* or *casual* observation: 'had *noticed* on the opposite bank among certain rocks that reached to the very edge of the river'.

ὥσπερ] '*what appeared to be* bags of clothes'. The presence of these girls on the river bank was of importance—not because it implied that the river was fordable at this point (since this had happened elsewhere), but as a guarantee that they would find a practicable pathway when they had reached the opposite bank.

§ 12. δοῦσαι] This infinitive depends on ἔλεγον which we must supply as required throughout the narrative.

πρόσβατον εἶναι] 'moreover it was inaccessible in this quarter to the enemy's horse'. We must be careful to avoid translating οὐδὲ '*not even*', as the writer certainly does not intend to imply that the spot was more open to the cavalry than to the infantry.

ἐκδύντες] 'so they stripped, they said, and with their daggers in their hands began to ford the river naked, thinking they should have to swim for it. However they went on and reached the other side before they were wet to the waist. After which they recrossed the stream and recovered their clothes and were now come back again'. It is surprising that Macmichael should have adopted the reading *διαβαίνειν* with a single MS, as it would argue carelessness on the part of the author if he had used the same tense *διαβαίνειν* to denote the *progress* and the *completion* of the passage. As regards *διαβάντες*, its close connexion with the words *λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια* suggests the translation which I have given above, though some of the editors prefer to understand *ἱμάτια* of the clothes deposited by the native women, in which case the participle will refer to the passage *over* instead of to the passage *back*.

§ 13. ἐγγχεῖν] There is little doubt that *νεανίσκοις* is the dative after ἐγγχεῖν, 'ordered (the attendants) to fill cups for the young men', even though the addition of the infinitive εὔχεσθαι makes, at first sight, a change of subject improbable.

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ] 'to complete *what was wanting to success*'.

§§ 14—to end. *Their passage across the river.*

συνσκευάζεσθαι] The Latin *convasari, vasa colligere*.

αὐτοὶ] Xenophon and Cheirisophus. In regard to ἐβουλεύοντο the beginner may be reminded that the active is used of *counselling others*, the middle of *taking counsel with or from others*.

τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν] The *Persians*, while τῶν ὀπισθε refers to the *Car-
duchians*.

§ 15. ἐν μέσῳ τούτῳ] i.e. after the party with Cheirisophus had crossed, while Xenophon's troops were to follow in their rear.

§ 17. ἀντιπαρήσαν] 'moved parallel with them on the opposite bank of the river'.

κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν] 'at the ford'. See notes on the force of κατὰ in connexion with I. 8. 21 and V. 2. 21.

στεφανωσάμενος] Schneider and others compare Xen. *de Rep. Lac.* xiii. 8 and *Hell.* IV. 2. 12 in proof that this was a *Lacedaemonian* custom adopted by order of Lysurgus whenever his troops found themselves in presence of an enemy. But the religious ceremonial of which this formed a part was resorted to by all Greek armies—apart from any special nationality—under circumstances of danger.

ἀποδὸς] 'having stript himself and taken up his arms passed the word for all the rest of the troops to do likewise'.

τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους] Consult the note on IV. 2. 11.

§ 18. ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν π.] 'cut the throats of the victims over the stream', i.e. 'let the blood of the victims flow into the stream': a pregnant expression like σφάζαντες εἰς ἀσπίδα in II. 2. 9.

ἐξικνούντο] 'failed as yet to reach them'.

§ 19. σφάγια] Macmichael observes that σφάγια and not ἱερά is the word used, because, in sacrificing to river-gods, no portions of the victim were set apart for burning. For the usual distinction between the force of the words, see notes on I. 8. 15, II. 1. 9 and VI. 5. 21.

ἀνηλάλαζον συνωλόλυζον δέ] These words signify shouts of joy, the former denoting the war-cry of the *men*, while the latter is almost exclusively used in reference to *women*. On the other hand they are both to be distinguished from the verb παιανίζειν which signifies a solemn religious chant whether of prayer or thanksgiving.

§ 20. οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ] We should naturally have expected the reflexive, but compare a still more remarkable instance of the same construction in VII. 4. 10. Other similar examples have been noticed on p. 23 of *Introd.* II.

ἐπὶ τὸν πύρον] This ford has already been described in §§ 5, 6. Trans. 'ran hastily back to the ford that was over against the outlet leading into the mountains of Armenia, making as though he would cross the river at this point and cut off the enemy's horse who were manœuvring along the river side'. Notice the future infinitive ἀποκλείσειν, which is thrown in to give reality to the narrative, and implies that the imperfect ἔθει is practically equivalent to the historic present.

§ 21. ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτ. ἐκβ.] 'made off to all appearance (ὡς) for the pass that led up the mountains from the river side'. Thus the manœuvre of Xenophon was successful which was intended to draw off their attention until the troops with Cheirisophus had effected their passage.

κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν] 'when they found themselves at the path in question'.

§ 22. Λύκιος...καὶ Αἰσχίνης] The appointment of the former to the command of the cavalry was noticed in III. 3. 20, while Aeschines is mentioned later on in 8. 18 as captain of the Arcadian contingent of peltasts.

συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος] 'while the main body of his troops called

to them not to lag behind the enemy, but to follow them out upon the hills'. This is the usual explanation of the passage, but I question much whether it is the correct one. On the contrary, I prefer to understand the infinitive as referring, not to the irregular sortie of Lycius and Aeschines, but to the advance of the main body under Cheirisophus. Trans. therefore: 'while the main body of his troops clamoured not to be left behind but to take their part in the sally over the hills'. This view of the passage is further confirmed by the context, which implies that Cheirisophus denied their request (τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν) and directed them in preference against the infantry, who had been guarding the top of the bank (ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους).

§ 23. κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας] 'at the place where the banks came down to the river's edge'. A similar irregularity in the order of the words has been noticed in connexion with IV. 2. 18.

§ 24. τὴν ταχίστην] Subj. ὁδόν, 'by the shortest path'. καὶ γὰρ 'and (well he might) for'...See note on IV. 2. 7.

§ 25. ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξαι] 'having undertaken the pursuit'. Notice the force of the present participle ὑπολειπόμενα, 'such of the baggage animals as were falling to the rear'.

§ 26. ἀκμὴν] An accusative used adverbially = *cum maxime*: 'were at that very instant crossing'. It is unnecessary to take ἀκμὴν in the sense of ἔτι, which is condemned by Phrynichus as a later and still less classical usage.

κατ' ἐνωμοτίας] 'to form their companies respectively into divisions of five and twenty men, bringing up each division into line by a flank movement to the left'. This disposition of the troops is admirably explained by White. Its object was to present a continuous front (φάλαγξ) to the enemy, and, by so doing, to protect his own flank which was necessarily exposed to attack during the progress of the troops along the river bank. The movement was effected as follows. Each λόχος was formed into a column of four ἐνωμοταί of which the front ἐνωμοτία alone remained stationary 'while the remaining three faced to the left and filed out (παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας), and, when they had advanced sufficiently far, faced again to the front and moved forward into line (ἐπὶ φάλαγγος)'.

παραγαγόντας] Another instance of our author's careless use of tenses. The flank movement which it describes was of course *subsequent* to that of dividing the companies into enomoties, but the participle used implies that it *preceded* it. παρ' ἀσπίδας is opposed to ἐπὶ δόρυ: 'towards the *shield-hand*.....towards the *spear-hand*', an explanation which is given at length in Arr. *Tact.* p. 54. Compare, too, Theophr. *Charac.* ὀψιμαθία § 2, ἐπὶ δόρυ...ἐπ' ἀσπίδα...ἐπ' οὐράν, 'eyes *right*...eyes *left*...and *right about face*'.

πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων.....πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ] 'towards the Carduchians...near the river'. In these cases πρὸς is literally 'on the side of', 'from the quarter of', the genitive denoting the point from which the motion is supposed to commence, but its connexion with ἵεναι is distinctly irregular, even if in both cases we render it 'on the side of'. Anyhow we cannot supply χώραν, which is the ordinary expedient.

§ 27. τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους] 'deserted by the mass of the army'.

ὄχλος refers to the main body of the troops which had been drawn up in phalanx, rather than to the camp-followers as White suggests. The alternative rendering, which is preferred by Kühner and Krüger, proceeds on the theory that *τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου* forms a combined substantive, while *ψιλουμένους* is to be taken independently in the sense of 'isolated'. But the order of the words, and still more the rhythm of the sentence, are in my idea strong arguments in favour of the former explanation.

§ 28. *αὐτοῦ μέναι*] 'to remain *where they were* on the river bank'.

αὐτοί] i.e. Xenophon and his party, as distinguished from the targeteers, slingers and archers sent by Cheirisophus.

ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν] 'they were to enter the river from the opposite bank under pretence of crossing it—some on one side and some on the other of his troops—the javelin-men with their hand on the strap, the bowmen with their arrow on the string, but not to advance far into the river'. *τοῦ ποταμοῦ* is a partitive genitive: lit. 'to a great extent of the river', rather than directly dependent on *πρὸς*, which is the alternative explanation.

§ 29. *σφενδὴν ἐξικηῆται*] 'as soon as the first missile from the enemy should reach them and a shield rattle from the blow', i.e. as soon as they should come within range of the enemy. Another but less natural interpretation is to regard the above as signals to be given to the Greeks by their own commanders.

σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν] 'should sound a charge'.

ἐπὶ δόρυ] See note on § 26. The position of the participle is noticeable, as shewing that it refers to the entire body of the troops and not merely to the portion of them described as *τοὺς οὐραγούς*. 'They should all of them face about to the right, the last man in every file now leading the way'. The sentence forms an example of the construction known as *partitive apposition*, illustrations of which will be found in the notes to I. 8. 9, and II. 1. 15.

ἔσσιτο] Notice the change of construction: '(adding that) he would be the best man whoever should be first across the river'.

§ 30. *τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων*] These are the *ὀπισθοφύλακες* mentioned in §§ 26, 27.

§ 31. *καὶ γάρ*] See note on § 24. *ὥς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν*, 'as one would expect with mountaineers'. Cf. Thuc. II. 65, *ὥς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα*, 'as was natural in a great and imperial city'. Sometimes, on the other hand, the same idiom is used with a *limiting* or *qualifying* force, for which compare the following passage: *φρονεῖ γάρ, ὥς γυνή, μέγα* 'for a woman she has grand ideas' (Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1078), and the use of *ut* in Latin, *multas, ut in homine Romano, litteras* (Cic. *de amicitia* IV. 12).

§ 32. *τάναντία στρέψαντες*] 'having turned in the opposite direction', with which Kühner compares *τάναντία ἀποστρέφας* (*Hell.* III. 4. 12) and *τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστρέφειν* (VI. 6. 38).

§ 34. *οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες*] The reference is to the party of troops who had been sent by Cheirisophus. See § 27. 'The troops however who had come to meet them, pluming themselves on their courage, and

entering the stream farther than the occasion required, recrossed it in the rear of Xenophon's men'.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1, 2. *The Greeks enter Armenia and arrive at the village of Tigranocerta (probably the modern Saârt) containing a palace of the satrap Orontas.*

συνταξάμενοι] 'having formed themselves in close order'.

πεδίων ἅπαν] 'marched through Armenia over an unbroken plain and hills of gentle ascent'. It is scarcely satisfactory to explain πεδίων and γηλόφους with White and Macmichael as accusatives *in apposition* with ὁδόν understood. They are rather accusatives of *occupation* or (more generally) of *extension*. Cf. πηδῶντα πεδία, 'bounding over the plains' (Soph. *Ai.* 30).

λείους] i.e. not precipitous or encumbered with rocks. This description entirely accords with the characteristics of the modern *Saârt*, while the extreme cold, which from this point proved the worst enemy of the Greeks, is easily accounted for when we consider the great elevation of these Armenian uplands: indeed, in the neighbourhood of *Erzroom*, where a height is reached of 6000 feet, it is 'by no means uncommon, on the melting of the snow, to find numerous corpses of men and bodies of horses that have perished in the previous winter' (Curzon's *Armenia*, p. 162).

In the words γηλόφους, ἄπλετος (11), ἀτασθαλίας (14), we have again a recurrence to the language of Homer.

§ 2. εἰς δὲ ἤν] By attraction for ἡ δὲ κώμη εἰς ἣν ἀφίκοντο κ.τ.λ. This was, in all probability, the town now known as *Saârt*, though the distance from this point to the sources of the *Billis su* is somewhat greater than we should gather from the account of their marches in § 3.

τῷ σατράπῃ] Orontas, who was satrap of the entire province, while Tiribazus was his deputy in western Armenia. This is better than to consider, as Krüger does, that they were both of them *satraps*, Orontas of eastern and Tiribazus of western Armenia. At the present time, *Erzroom* and *Diarbekir* are the centres from which the government is administered. For the dative σατράπῃ, cf. Thuc. (IV. 6) ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς and Lys. (XIX. 22), χρημάτων προσέδει πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς πελτασταῖς. When immediately attached to a substantive it denotes *for whom* the thing in question is had or wanted, while the genitive would imply that it was his *property*. The towers mentioned in the text are probably nothing more than the chambers on the roof which at the present day form a noticeable feature in the architecture of the East.

§§ 3—6. *Cross an eastern tributary of the Tigris and reach a branch of the Euphrates. In western Armenia they have an interview with Tiribazus with whom they make a treaty.*

τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ] Macmichael notices that we must understand by this one of the most easterly of its tributaries—in all probability

the one now known as the *Bitlis su*—since the main branch rises far to the west of their route above *Diarbekir*.

Τηλεβόαν] Ainsworth identifies this with the *Kāra-su*, a tributary of the eastern Euphrates, Layard with the *Billis*. For the arguments on both sides I must refer the student to the Commentary of Ainsworth p. 172.

§ 4. ὑπαρχος] ‘lieutenant-governor’. Cf. VII. 8. 25. With the phrase βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν White compares Liv. XXXI. 37, *regem in equum subiicit*, ‘lifted the king upon his horse’.

§ 5. εἰς ἐπήκοον] ‘having advanced within hearing’. The phrase occurs again in II. 5. 38. Here, as elsewhere, the readings fluctuate between τί θέλει, which is adopted by Kühner after the two best MSS, and τί θέλοι which is preferred by Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors. Observe, too, the distinction in force between τί θέλει ‘what he meant’ and his answer ὅτι βούλοιο, ‘that he wanted to have an interview’.

§ 6. ἐφ’ ᾧ] For the construction see note on II. 19: ‘on the understanding that *he* would not injure the Greeks nor *they* burn his dwellings, while they were to take such provisions as they from time to time required’. In the above and similar passages beginners will notice in αὐτὸς the recurrence to the nominative whenever the infinitive refers to the leading subject of the sentence, and also the use of τε to couple to the second μῆτε the positive clause which follows.

§§ 7—14. *Their progress watched by Tiribazus. Arrive at a village and palace. Snow storms. Precautions taken against a surprise on the part of the enemy.*

διὰ πεδίου] According to Ainsworth this table-land of Armenia is at an elevation of 4200 feet above the level of the sea. Hence the excessive cold experienced in this region by Lucullus, Alexander Severus and the travellers of our own day. The palace of Tiribazus must have been situated in the plain of *Mush*, northwards of the *Kāra-su*. Ainsworth suggests that the site may possibly be represented by the modern *Perak* or *Lis*.

παρηκολούθει] ‘dogged their footsteps’, a word specially used of tedious or chronic diseases. Cf. Dem. κατὰ Κον. § 1260.

§ 8. ἔωθεν] lit. ‘starting from day-break’, i.e. immediately after it. Compare ἀπὸ μέσης νυκτός, and in Latin *de tertia vigilia* and similar phrases.

διασκηνησαι] Intransitive: ‘should be quartered by parties (διὰ) in the different districts’. White calls attention to the well-known difference between σκηνῶ to ‘pitch a tent’, and σκηνάω or σκηνέω to ‘dwell in tents’. He seems however to miss the force of the preposition διὰ when he translates it ‘throughout the villages’ rather than ‘in parties or divisions’.

ἀσφαλές] because they saw no enemy and thought they were safe from attack by reason of the snow.

§ 9. (πάντα) τὰ ἐπιτήδεια] Poppo is for retaining the word πάντα which appears in all the MSS with the exception of four. For ἱερεῖα in the sense of ‘cattle’, cf. *Cyrop.* I. 4. 17, in connexion with which Hutchinson observes that the term ἱερεῖον came to signify any animal

used for food from the fact that the Greeks never killed one without offering a portion of it in sacrifice.

τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων] For the position of τινές, which interferes slightly with the construction, cf. ii. 18, ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ. In the present case the words τῶν ἀποσκ. τινές form a combined idea, 'certain stragglers from the camp'. κατίδοιεν, 'they had caught sight of', a sense which I have already noticed as peculiar to this compound. (Cf. IV. 3. 11.)

§ 10. διασκηνοῦν] Transitive: 'to quarter the troops by parties'. ἐντεθθεν] 'accordingly they closed up their quarters, for there were symptoms, moreover, that the sky was clearing'. The verb συνῆλθον indicates a necessary precaution, now that the improvement in the weather had increased the probability of an attack. The majority of the MSS give the reading διαιθρίαζειν, which is preferred by Vollbrecht, and for which we have a near equivalent in English when we speak of a *break* in the sky, a *rift* in the clouds, etc.

§ 11. ἐπιπίπτει] 'there came on them a fall of snow so heavy that it buried the men and the armour where they lay'. White translates ἐπιπίπτει 'there is a *further* fall of snow', but cf. ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα below for the rendering which I have preferred.

ἀλεεινὸν] Sub. χρήμα or some equivalent. This neuter is used for the masculine or feminine when it denotes in a general way the *essence* of a certain *class* of objects. 'The snow, where it had fallen on him, served to warm a man when it did not slip away from his sides'. κατακειμένων 'as they lay' is beyond all question an ordinary instance of the genitive absolute, nor can I in any way understand the reasons which have induced Kühner to treat it as dependent on ὄτω. Indeed, the position of the participle in the sentence would in itself be decisive on the point: add to which, Kühner's explanation would necessitate the introduction of the article. There is more difficulty in determining the force of the verb παραρρύνει, which can hardly mean 'melted' (i.e. with the heat of the body) as the majority of the editors would seem to imagine. 'Fell away, *slift* off on either side' is a more suitable rendering, as the snow would supply warmth mainly by acting as a defence against the wind.

§ 12. ἐτόλμησε] 'had the strength of mind to get up and cut firewood, thinly clad as he was'. γυμνός, i.e. without the ἱμάτιον, the mantle worn above the χιτῶν.

ἀφελόμενος] Sub. ἀξίνην with Krüger, or ξύλα with Kühner: words readily supplied from the idea conveyed in σχίζειν, 'took the implements from his hand'. For the force and construction of ἄν, which has been restored by Kühner on the authority of the two best MSS, see note on οὐδένα ἄν πώποτε ἀφείλετο in I. 9. 19.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου] 'thereupon', 'as a consequence of this'.

§ 13. ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν] 'oil of almonds extracted from the bitter kind'. With πικρῶν supply ἀμυγδαλῶν out of ἀμυγδάλινον. The termination should be noticed as confined in particular to unguents and essences, like the corresponding forms in Latin, e.g. *amaricinum* (Lucr.) and *crocinum* (Prop.). For the use of sesame in unguents Kühner compares Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XVIII. 10, and Quint. Curt. VII. 4. 23.

ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων] ‘compounded of these same ingredients’.

§ 14. εἰς στέγας] ‘under cover’.

ἀτασθαλίας] ‘wanton insolence’. The word is Homeric, like ἀπλετος in § 11. I cannot persuade myself in this instance to follow Kühner, who has admitted ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας into his text in place of ὑπ’ ἀτασθαλίας, though the latter is found in all the mss (either with or without the addition of the article). The majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht, Bornemann and Macmichael, are likewise against the alteration, the evidence for which rests altogether on the authority of Suidas who gives the passage we are considering in the following form (p. 648): οἱ δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες δίκην ἔδοσαν ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας κακῶς σκηνοῦντες.

§§ 15—end. *The Greeks send out a party to reconnoitre, and, acting upon intelligence received from a captive, they attack and plunder the camp of Tiribazus.*

Τεμενίτην] From Temenus in Sicily, a district of Syracuse, though Kühner and the best authorities are strongly in favour of reading Τημενίτην, in which case the reference will be to a town on the coast of Argolis.

ἀληθεῦσαι] ‘to have reported truly’. Beginners will notice carefully the use of the negatives in the latter part of this sentence. ‘*Supposing anything was not* (the case stated as an hypothesis) he reported it *as not being* (the same stated as a fact)’.

§ 16. σάγαριν] The σάγαρις was apparently identical with the *Amazonia securis* mentioned by Horace (*Od.* iv. 4. 20).

§ 17. ἐπὶ τίνι] ‘with what object collected’. There is no means of deciding whether τίνι is masculine or neuter in this case, but the latter is the more probable alternative.

§ 18. εἶη ἔχων] White goes out of his way when he translates this ‘was having with him’ and describes it as a poetical phrase. Translate in preference ‘he replied that it *was* Tiribazus *with*...’

ὥς...ἐπιθησόμενον] These words are to be connected in translation, the ἐνταῦθα being introduced in consequence of the length of the sentence to give point to the conclusion. ‘He added that Tiribazus was prepared to attack the Greeks on the road over the mountains in the narrow parts, by which way only there was a passage for their troops’.

§ 19. Σοφαίνετον] In v. 3. 1 we find him and Philesius mentioned as τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν.

§ 20. ὑπερέβαλλον] ὑπερέβαλον al., a reading which is clearly disproved by a statement in § 1 of the next chapter.

κατιδόντες] ‘having seen the camp *below them*’ is an admissible rendering. But compare note on κατιδοῖεν in § 9.

§ 21. φάσκοντες εἶναι] ‘as they called themselves’. This phrase is intended to express the writer’s contempt for the luxury and extravagance of the Persian satrap, and is to be connected with the word ἀρτοκόποι as well as with the second substantive. The repetition of the article with the second substantive is worthy of notice, as implying that the two terms are not coextensive in their application.

§ 22. ἀνακαλεσάμενοι] ‘having recalled the troops’.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—8. *The Greeks make a forced march and reach the Eastern Euphrates. Having forded it they continue to advance, suffering many privations from cold and hunger.*

πρὶν ἤ] This addition of ἤ though rarely met with in the Attic prose writers is not uncommon in Herodotus and the poets, in addition to which it occurs, as Kühner points out, in *Cyrop.* I. 4. 23 and *Ages.* II. 4.

§ 2. τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν] The *Murad su* or eastern branch of the Euphrates. 'The Greeks would proceed from the *Teleboas* in a north-eastern direction till they had reached a position about seventy miles from the *Kara su*. This would require the seven marches given by Xenophon and fix the place where they forded the *Murad su* as not far above its junction with the *Khanus*'. (Col. Chesney, II. 229.)

οὐ πρόσω εἶναι] See note on ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον in IV. 1. 3.

§ 3. παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα] Krüger and others call attention to the rapidity of this march through the snow, and suggest not improbably that these numbers have crept into the text from § 2.

τρίτος] sc. σταθμός.

ἐναντίος] 'blew full in their faces completely parching up everything and numbing the men'. With ἀποκαίων compare the use of *adurere* (Verg. *Georg.* I. 92), *torrere* (Hor. *Sat.* I. 5. 78), in reference to the effects of extreme cold, though Kühner notices that the uses are not precisely parallel since in Latin the substantive is always added to qualify the verb.

§ 4. τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος] Neuter adjectives in the singular are used thus as substantives to denote a certain notion *in general*, something *regarded as a whole*.

§ 5. ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ] 'at the encampment'. This abundance of wood indicates (according to Ainsworth) the proximity of a river—some tributary stream of the *Murad su* or the more westerly *Khanus*.

πάλαι ἦκοντες] 'those who had been there for some time'. Notice the peculiar force of ἦκειν which justifies its connexion with πάλαι rather than πρὶν.

οὐ προσέεισαν] 'would not admit the late-comers to the fire unless they shared with them wheat or a part of such edibles as they had with them'. In this and the next paragraph we have an illustration of the constructions of μετέχειν, μεταδίδοναι etc. They are followed by partitive genitives to express the *entire whole*, and an accusative (expressed or understood) of the *part* or *parts* which are taken or distributed.

§ 6. ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον] 'reaching to the ground'.

§ 7. ἐβουλίμισαν] The 'bulimy' was a faintness from excessive hunger. White calls attention to the fact that βοῦς in composition with words in general, like τρις and πᾶν in composition with adjectives, is used with an augmentative force. Cf. βούπαις.

τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων] 'finding in his way the falling men'. An ugly construction, of which however Xenophon would seem to be

peculiarly fond. See p. 19 of Introd. II. *πίπτοντας ἀνθρώπους*, or possibly *πίπτοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, would have been the regular and natural combination, supposing that *τοὺς πεσόντας* failed to give sufficient reality to the situation.

§ 8. *τοῖς βουλιμῶσιν*] I cannot agree with Macmichael who treats this dative as dependent on *παπατρέχειν*. In addition to other considerations, the rhythm of the sentence suggests that the phrase *τοὺς δυνάμενους παπατρέχειν* is complete in itself. 'He distributed it, and sent about those who had strength to run along the ranks administering it to the sick men'.

διδόντας takes the place of *δῶσοντας* for the reason suggested in the last note, viz. to give additional reality to the picture by representing the execution of the order as coincident with its delivery.

§§ 9—23. *Cheirisophus and his party encamp at a village. Continued privations of the rest of the army until the two portions are reunited.*

ἐκ τῆς κώμης] To be connected with the substantives which follow, 'some women and girls from the village'.

§ 10. *ὅσον παρασάγγην*] 'about a parasang'. Probably (according to Ainsworth) at the place now known as *Khanus Kálahsi*, where the chief of the district still resides.

§ 11. *ἐδυνήθησαν*] We must supply *συνεισέρχεσθαι* or *διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν* from the context. But, if it were not for the tense, I should prefer to translate *οἱ ἐδυνήθησαν* 'all the able-bodied men' of the army. This is unquestionably the meaning of *τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα* in the next section, where it is quite unnecessary to understand an infinitive.

§ 12. *συνειλεγμένοι τινές*] 'a band of the enemy'.

διεφθαρμένοι] 'those who had lost the sight of their eyes from the action of the snow, and those whose toes had mortified by reason of the cold'.

§ 13. *ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος*] 'a protection against the snow', but *ἐπικούρημα τῶν ποδῶν* below is 'a defence for the feet'. The vague relation which the dependent genitive bears to its governing noun is here admirably illustrated. The actual meaning must be gathered from the context, the genitive itself signifying little more than 'in the matter of', 'in respect to'.

κινεῖτο] 'to keep constantly on the move and never stationary, and to take off the sandals for the night'.

§ 14. *ὑποδεδεμένοι*] 'with their sandals on', *ὑποδεῖν* being the opposite of *ὑπολβεῖν*. Observe the plural *περιεπήγγυντο*, and for the idiom see note on *ἦσαν τὰ βασιλεια* in I. 2. 23.

καὶ γὰρ] If *γὰρ* is to be retained, a point which is open to question, it will as usual confirm the statement and give the reason: 'for in fact, ever since their original sandals had given out, they had made them shoes of undressed leather from the hides of newly flayed oxen'. Kühner objects to its insertion on the ground that the paragraph in question is in no sense an explanatory statement. It is surely, however, a very natural inference that the raw and untanned hide was more susceptible of frost than the original leather. The same authority would omit the pronoun before *πεποιημένοι*, which some of the editors have

introduced from the version of Suidas. Though not essential to the construction, it adds a grace and finish to the sentence which one would be loth to lose.

§ 15. ἀνάγκας] 'straits'. καὶ τετήκει, 'and it *had* melted'. Notice the pluperfect without the augment like τετελευτήκει, ἀναβεβήκει.

ἐκτραπόμενοι] 'having turned out of the path'. The present infinitive 'said they were not going further' is stronger in this connexion than the future, which is usually found as an alternative reading in some of the MSS. See note on πορευόμεθα in II. 3. 23, and again on πορεύεσθαι in § 27 of the same chapter.

§ 16. οὐδὲ γὰρ] in a negative sentence has the same intensifying force that καὶ γὰρ (cf. § 14) has in a positive, 'for *indeed* they couldn't go further'. Kühner, however, edits οὐ γάρ, which is less forcible, on the authority of two leading MSS. σφάττειν, lit. 'to cut their throats'.

§ 17. διαφερόμενοι] 'wrangling over the booty in their possession'.

§ 18. ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες] 'since they were in good health'. In regard to εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, students should be warned against this use of the preposition εἰς, common as it is in Xenophon. πρὸς or ἐπὶ πολεμίους would be the more classical combination. I have noted other examples of this irregularity on p. 20 of *Introd. II.*

ῥηκαν ἐάντοῖς] 'flung themselves down the snow into the glen'.

§ 19. ἐπ' αὐτοὺς] 'to fetch them', 'in quest of them'. See note on ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον in VI. 2. 2.

ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις] 'wrapt up' in cloaks or blankets: not 'covered up in the snow' as White translates it, a sense which suits neither the word ἐγκαλύπτειν nor the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος.

καθειστήκει] 'there wasn't so much as a guard of any kind posted'. Notice the force of the imperfect ἀνίστασαν, 'they tried to rouse them'.

§ 20. ὑποχωροῖεν] Cf. ὑπαγειν, ὑφηγεῖσθαι, 'did not make way'. παριῶν 'passing on to the front'.

§ 21. οἷας ῥόοναντο] sc. καταστήσασθαι. ἀναστήσαντας, 'with orders to wake them and compel them to proceed'.

§ 22. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης] See note on συνεβρόησαν II. 19, and also on I. 5. 7. οἱ δὲ refers to the party of young men who had been sent by Xenophon to the relief of the sick.

§ 23. αὐτοῦ] 'in the village where he was'. διαλαχόντες, 'having drawn lots for the several villages'. At first sight the plural ἕκαστοι is strange as it clearly does not include the followers of each general. It is however readily explained by supposing that more than one general was quartered on each village: 'they went their way, each *party of officers* taking with them their men'. The account which follows of these villages accords (says Ainsworth) with what is observed at the present day, the houses being in part subterranean and the live stock herding with the people during the severity of winter.

§§ 24—end. *A description of the villages and the encampment.*

ἀφιέναι αὐτόν] 'to let him go his own way'.

εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ] See note on IV. 4. 2, βασιλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ. It is probable (according to Krüger and others) that there is an error in the MSS as regards the number of these horses. This opinion is based

on the fact that in § 35 we find Xenophon taking some for himself and giving one to each of his captains.

ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαυημένην] = πρὸ ἐννέα ἡμέρων.

§ 25. τὸ μὲν στόμα ὡς περ φρέατος] It is usual to understand the participle ἔχουσαι with στόμα. But a far more simple explanation is admissible, viz. to supply the word στόμα itself with the genitive φρέατος, 'were as to their entrance like the entrance to a well'.

ὄρνιθες] 'fowls', while χιλὸς 'hay' is equivalent to χιλὸς ξηρὸς mentioned below. For the plural ἐτρέφοντο, see note on I. 2. 23.

§ 26. οἶνος κοίθινος] 'barley wine'. Macmichael compares the following passage from the *Germania* of Tacitus (cap. 23), *Potui humor ex hordeo in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus*. The same liquor was in use among the Egyptians (Herod. II. 77).

ἰσοχειεῖς] 'and in them were floating the actual barley-corns on a level with the brim'. It was to avoid swallowing these that the mixture was drunk through straws (κάλαμοι). γόνατα are 'joints' or 'knots'.

§ 27. ἄκρατος] 'strong', lit. 'unmixed' and equivalent to the Latin *merum*. συμμαθόντι is a poetical substitute for the more ordinary word συνεθισθέντι, 'to one who was used to it'.

§ 28. ἀντεμπλήσαντες] 'and they would fill his house before they left with necessities if it should be proved that he had suggested anything for the good of the army'. ἐξηγέσθαι is the Latin *præire*, to 'point out', 'lead the way', whether by word or action. Beginners will bear in mind the difference between φαίνεσθαι with an infinitive (e.g. φαίνεται εἶναι, 'he appears to be') and the same with a participle (e.g. φαίνεται ὢν, 'he clearly is').

§ 29. φιλοφρονούμενος] 'to shew his friendliness'. οἶνον, i.e. wine made from the grape as distinguished from the οἶνος κριθίνος mentioned above. Kühner, however, thinks the latter is meant. With κατωρυγμένος compare the Latin *defossus*. οὕτως, 'as I have said'.

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] is added to give emphasis to the words ἐν φυλακῇ, 'with the village-chief in their keeping and his children with him under their very eyes'.

§ 30. παριοί] Notice the frequentative optative, 'and wherever he came up to a village'. ἀφίεσαν, 'from no place did they allow them to depart'.

§ 32. προπιεῖν] To 'drink the health of any one'. Lit. to 'drink first to any one', as it was the Greek custom to pass the cup to one's friend after drinking first oneself. Sometimes the drinking-cup itself was offered as a present, and thus προπίνειν came afterwards to mean to 'give away'.

εἶλκεν] with which compare ἐδίδοσαν and ἐλάμβανεν below, is a frequentative imperfect, employed to denote a continued series of actions and constructed either with or without ἄν: 'he would draw him down to the bowl, out of which he had to drink with his head bent'.

§ 33. σκηνοῦντας] 'in good quarters', i.e. carousing. The verb is used similarly in V. 3. 9, παρείχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνῶσιν ἅλφια.

ἐνεοῖς] 'deaf and dumb'. ἐνεὸς is probably the same word with ἀνεως from ἄω, αὔω. In other writers we usually find the fuller phrase ἐνεὸς καὶ κωφός.

§ 34. ἦ εἴη] 'in what direction it lay'.

§ 35. αὐτόν] sc. τὸν κωμάρχην, to whom likewise the reflexive ἐαυτοῦ refers.

ἵππον] 'and a horse that he had taken, which was getting too old for him, he gave to the chief to fatten up for sacrifice, for he had heard that it had been consecrated to the sun'. I do not understand the pronoun to mean that horses generally were offered up in sacrifice to the sun, but rather that the particular animal which was given to the comarch was a sacred one. Many considerations are in favour of this interpretation, more especially the use of the pronoun αὐτόν. Add to which it was only horses of a peculiar colour and breed that were consecrated to the sun.

τῶν πάλων λαμβάνει] 'takes some of the colts'. For the construction, cf. I. 5. 7, and, for the reference, compare a statement in § 24 of the present chapter.

§ 36. σακία περιειλεῖν] 'to tie little bags round the feet of the horses'. Strabo (XI. p. 772) notices a similar custom in his description of the Caucasus: ὑποδοῦμενοι κεντρωτὰ ὠμοβόδια δίκην τυμπάνων πλατέα διὰ τὰς χιόνας καὶ τοὺς κρυστάλλους.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—4. *After encamping for seven days the Greeks set out taking with them the comarch to lead the way. He leaves them in consequence of a quarrel with Cheirisophus, and, after proceeding for seven days without a guide, they arrive at the river Aras.*

τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα...τῷ κωμάρχη] Without the help of the context it would have been impossible to gather from the Greek that the guide and the comarch were one and the same person.

ἡγήσονται] 'in order that, if the comarch should conduct them properly, he might take his son also and begone'. For the force of ἀναξεύξαντες, see note on III. 4. 37.

§ 2. ἦν] sc. ὁ κωμάρχης. The reference made by Hutchinson to I. 8. 1 in proof that ἦν is here used impersonally of time is hardly apposite to the occasion. The phrase ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλῆθουσιν is directly suggestive of a special period: on the other hand in the word σταθμῷ the idea of *time*, if it exists at all, is quite subordinate to that of *distance*. I prefer therefore to understand ὁ κωμάρχης with Poppo.

§ 3. ἀποδρὰς ὥχεται] 'took himself off during the night'. With ἐχρήτο at the close of the section compare the use of *uti* in Latin, 'found him most trustworthy'. The substantives κάκωσις and ἀμέλεια refer to the statement in the previous section: ἐπαίσε μὲν, ἔδῃσε δ' οὐ.

§ 4. ἀνὰ] 'at the rate of five parasangs a day along the river Phasis'. All the commentators are agreed in identifying this river with the *Aras* or *Araxes* which runs into the Caspian. The Greeks however supposed

it to be the *Colchian Phasis* running into the Euxine, a point which Macmichael illustrates by comparing two passages of the fifth Book (vi. 36, vii. 1). The mistake may have originated in the fact that near the sources of the *Araxes* was a plain called *Phasiane*.

§§ 5—21. *Enter the district of the Chalybes, Taochi and Phasiani, who oppose their progress. A council of war, with the speeches of Xenophon, Cheirisephus and others.*

σταθμοὺς δύο] In all these cases there are great difficulties in forming an estimate of the distances really travelled. Thus Professor Malden regards the parasang at this stage of their journey as equivalent to two geographical miles, while Colonel Chesney, taking into consideration the obstruction caused by the snow, thinks it may have averaged little more than a mile. If we accept the latter as the more reasonable estimate, we shall regard them as having travelled only five and thirty miles eastward along the supposed *Phasis* before they found out their mistake by meeting with the *Hassan Kalashi*, a western affluent of the *Aras*.

τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπερβολῇ] Hamilton (I. p. 185), in his description of the rocky districts between *Kupri K'ini* and *Khorasan*, notices that, after leaving the former locality, the road soon confines itself to a narrow pass between high hills on the left hand and the river on the right. The name *Chalybes* would seem to have included several branches of the tribe who inhabited the district between *Armenia* and the *Euxine*. The *Taochi* dwelt in the valleys to the north-east of *Erzroom*, and (according to Ainsworth) their name still survives in the *Tauk* of the Turks, and the *Taoutchie* of the Georgian districts. The *Phasiani* lay southwards of these, but had apparently moved northwards to co-operate with them at the approach of the Greeks.

§ 6. κατὰ κέρας ἄγων]=*agmine longo ducens*, i.e. *in column*.

παράγειν τοὺς λόχους] This manoeuvre has been fully described in a note on IV. 3. 26.

§ 7. ἀγωνιούμεθα] 'how we shall fight with the best chance of success'. As regards the construction of ὅπως after verbs like σκοπεῖν, βουλευέσθαι, we have (i) the *consideration how* a thing may be done, in which sense the future indicative is exclusively used, and (ii) the *preparation in order that* it may be done, in which sense (as below in § 10) the subjunctive is also admissible. See note on βουλεύεται in I. 1. 4.

§ 9. προσγενέσθαι] 'and in all probability they will *then and there* be joined by others in larger numbers'. The aorist for the future denotes the certain and instantaneous result. The future perfect is another tense which gives the same idea of certainty but regards the result as a *continuance*, e.g. ἐγγεγράφεται (Ar. *Equit.* 1370), 'will find himself *in the position of* one enrolled'.

§ 10. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι] For the force of εἰ with the indicative in a sense almost equivalent to that of εἴγε, see note on εἶπερ in VI. 1. 26.

§ 11. τὸ ὁρώμενον] An accusative absolute, 'as regards the part which is in view'. Trans. 'now the mountain range, so far as we can judge by the eye, extends for more than sixty stadia'.

ἀλλ' ἢ] 'save only'. This adverbial expression is admissible only after a negation or in a question equivalent to a negation. It is often incorrectly written ἀλλ' ἢ as if contracted from ἄλλο or ἄλλα rather than ἀλλά.

κλέψαι τι] Compare the use of *subducere* and *subripere* in Latin, e.g. *costam longo subduximus Appennino* (Pers. 1. 95), and *putavi tam pauca millia subripi posse* (Sen. ep. 53). Trans. 'accordingly it is far wiser to try to steal a position unobserved on some part of the desert mountain and occupy it by a surprise'.

μᾶλλον] This μᾶλλον is of course superfluous after the preceding comparative κρεῖττον. As an idiom it scarcely requires explanation, for it is easy to see that it may have arisen from a combination of the two constructions κρεῖττον κλέψαι ἢ μάχεσθαι and ἀγαθὸν κλέψαι μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι, if it be not rather a mere adjunct to emphasise the force of the comparative.

§ 12. ὀρθιον...ίεναι ἢ ὁμαλές] These adjectives may be used adverbially, though it is safer to explain them as *accusatives of occupation*, a construction which I have already noticed on IV. 4. 1.

τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν] 'what lies *before one*', i.e. in one's intended path, while τὰ πρὸς ποσὶ = 'what lies *close at one's feet*'. Trans. 'nay by night when fighting is out of the question one may see what lies before one better than by daylight if fighting has to be done'.

τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις] In a former edition I had suggested that this was perhaps equivalent to τὰς κεφαλὰς παραβαλλομένοις, 'to men who are risking their lives'. I can find, however, no other example in which the verbs are synonymous, while a further acquaintance with Xenophon's style has led me to prefer the simpler rendering as the more appropriate. Tr. therefore, 'when their heads are a mark for missiles'.

§ 13. κλέψαι δέ] 'to steal a march *too*'. For this use of δέ see note on IV. 1. 2, where I have explained it as in all probability akin to the emphatic δῆ.

ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον] 'to withdraw to such a distance as not to give an idea of our whereabouts'. He means that, before attempting to force a passage, they should withdraw to a safe distance from the enemy who are mentioned in § 11 as guarding the regular pass. This is better than the explanation proposed by Weiske: τοσοῦτον [μέρος στρατεύματος] ἀπελθεῖν.

ταύτη προσποιούμενοι] 'and I think that by making a feigned attack in this quarter we shall be likely to find the rest of the mountain less carefully guarded'. Students will notice that αὖν is often used twice and even three times in the same sentence. In such cases it will generally be placed early to stamp the character of the sentence which is to follow, and it will appear again in all probability with the emphatic word (as in the present case with ἐρημοτέρῳ), and again perhaps with the main verb at the close of the sentence.

μένοιεν] We may supply αὖν from the previous sentence as in the case of I. 6. 2. The context in this case will scarcely allow us to press the more scholarlike explanation that αὖν is purposely omitted with μένοιεν to shew that it is the *more remote* contingency: e.g. 'the

mountain will *probably* be more unguarded, for the enemy may *possibly* remain here'.

§ 14. *συμβάλλομαι*] Sub. *λόγους*, which is added in the corresponding passage of *Cyrop.* II. 2. 21, and compare the use of the Latin *conferre* either with or without the addition of *sermonem*.

τῶν ὁμοίων] = *τῶν ὁμοτίμων* (*Cyr.* I. 5. 5), *the Peers*. A term used in the aristocratic states of Greece to denote all those citizens whose rank entitled them to hold the highest offices of state, in contrast with those who from poverty or other causes had lost their full prerogative, and were known in consequence as *ὑπομεινες*.

εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδων] 'from your very boyhood'.

οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι] The explanation of this peculiar code must (as White observes) be sought in the fact that in communities like Sparta, where most things were held in common, the rights of property naturally fell into abeyance and were violated without offence.

§ 15. *ἄρα*] is ironical: 'it is customary, I fancy, with you'. *ἐπιδελῆσθαι*, 'to give us a specimen of your training'.

μέντοι] is equivalent apparently to the Latin *tamen*: 'and to be on your guard *notwithstanding*'. If a simple emphasis had been intended without any adversative force (e.g. 'to be *by all means* on your guard') the writer would probably have used *δὴ* in the sense of *adco* or simply *τοί*. So again in the following section we may translate *τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι*, 'the best men *notwithstanding* (they are so)'. *τοῦ ὅρου* is a partitive genitive.

§ 16. *τοῦ κινδύνου*] for the penalty was *ἀτιμία* or loss of the franchise until the offender had restored twice the amount of the property taken. Cf. Aesch. I. 113. For the position of *μάλα* in the sentence, see note on I. 5. 8.

εἴπερ] 'that is to say if it *be* the best men who are preferred for office in your communities'. Notice the difference between *εἴπερ* which states the case as an *assumption* 'on the understanding that', and *εἰ γὰρ* which expresses a *fact* 'since, seeing that'. The former is used in the present instance, as the speaker wishes to cast a slur on the general character of the Athenian demagogues.

ὑμῶν] 'with you', 'in your states'. Two explanations of this dative are possible, (i) to combine it closely with *οἱ κρατίστοι*, 'your leading men', in which case we may refer it to the class of datives mentioned in the note on IV. 4. 2, (ii) and preferably, because it makes the pronoun more emphatic, to treat it as an *ethic* dative, which is introduced to 'denote a participation and interest in the person speaking, spoken to, or spoken of' (Madv.). The position of *ὑμῶν* at the commencement of the sentence is favourable to either of the above explanations, but against our combining it closely with either *ἀξιοῦνται* or *ἄρχεν*.

§ 17. *τῶν ἐπομένων ἡμῶν κλωπῶν*] 'of the thieves who hang upon our steps'. It is with reluctance, I confess, that I abandon the more forcible compound *ἐφεπομένων*, though Kühner is probably right in regarding it as the alteration of some copyist who saw his chance of improving upon the original expression. *νέμεται*, 'is fed by', but for the literal meaning of the verb see Lidd. and Scott on *νέμω*, *προνέμω*.

βατὰ...ἔσται] Lit. '(matters) will be passable'. In all such cases, as

I have repeatedly noticed, supply the most general word, e.g. *πράγματα* or *χρήματα* rather than *χωρία*.

§ 18. *ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ*] ‘on the same footing with them’, like *εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν*, ‘to a fair encounter with us’. Cf. *εἰς τὸ ἴσον καθίστασθαι τινι* (*Cyr.* I. 6. 28). Lidd. and Scott translate ‘they will not descend to the level plain’, but the addition of the pronoun *ἡμῖν* is fatal to this rendering.

§ 20. *Μεθυδριεύς*] *Methydrum*, as we are told in IV. I. 28, was a town in Arcadia. It is an open question whether the article should be inserted before *Χῖος*, though Kühner justifies it as intended to mark the special merits of Aristeas. On the other hand, it appears in only two MSS, and is omitted by the majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht, Bornemann and Macmichael.

σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο] ‘they agreed’, equivalent to *ταῦτα συνθέμενοι* in the next section.

§ 21. *ταύτη προσάξειν*] ‘that he would lead the assault in this direction’.

§§ 22—end. *Success of the manœuvre.*

ἐγρηγόρεσαν] Owing to the force of the present *ἐγείρω* this perfect takes the place of an ordinary imperfect, ‘kept watch’.

§ 23. *κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν*] The pass mentioned in § 11. *κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα*, ‘advanced against the enemy along the heights’.

§ 24. *τοὺς πολλοὺς*] Cf. *τὸ πολὺ* above: ‘before the main bodies (of the contending armies) had closed’. Kühner and Vollbrecht alike prefer this Platonic form of the present, which is preserved in the two leading MSS, in preference to the later and more usual termination (*συμμιγνύουσιν*) which is found in the remainder.

§ 25. *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου*] Cf. *τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης*, IV. 5. 22. Observe how the general nominative *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου* is afterwards subdivided by partitive apposition into *οἱ μὲν πελτασταί* and *Χειρίσοφος δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις*.

βάδην ταχὺ] ‘at a quick march’. *βάδην* is opposed to *δρόμῳ ἔθειν*, but qualified in its turn by the addition of *ταχὺ*.

§ 27. *θύσαντες*] Cf. I. 7. 18 for this use of the active when the idea is that of simple sacrifice whether in thanksgiving or otherwise. On the other hand, ‘to take the auspices’ in regard to a future event is represented by the middle voice as in § 23.

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—14. *The Greeks enter the country of the Taochi, who obstruct their progress by hurling stones on them from a mountain stronghold. The place is taken and plundered.*

εἰς Ταόχους] The modern *Taochir*, a district of Georgia. But see note on § 5 of the previous chapter. The country is still thickly wooded, being occupied in part by the *Suwanli*, one of the few forest ranges to be met with for many miles round.

ἐπέλιπε] ‘failed’. Used intransitively this is a commoner form than

ἀπέλιπε which White admits into his text. Compare the familiar phrase ἡ σελήνη ἐπέλιπε.

ἀνακεκομισμένοι] is the middle voice, cf. ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν in IV. 7. 17, 'into which moreover they had carried up all their provisions'. This combination of ἔχω with a participle, usually the aorist but compare ἔχομεν ἀνηπακότες (I. 3. 14), denotes at once the *preceding action* and the *present state*. It is to suit this idea of continuance that ἐν οἷς is added, for which we should otherwise have expected ἐς αὐτά, 'had conveyed for safe keeping *in them*'. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* III. 664, *in sacri vertice montis abit*.

§ 2. Χειρίσσοφος μὲν (οὖν)] The word οὖν, which appears in the editions of Bornemann and Macmichael, is omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht. It would be difficult to explain it, even if the manuscript authority had justified its insertion.

εὐθὺς ἤκων] 'immediately on his arrival'. As in the phrase αἶμα μαχόμενος, which we have already noticed, the adverb though in sense it belongs to the leading verb is by the Greek idiom attached closely to the participle.

ἀθρόοις] 'for the army could not encircle it in a body because a river ran round it',—leaving however in one direction the πάροδος mentioned in § 4.

§ 3. (καὶ πελτασταῖς)] These words, which are omitted in three leading mss, are bracketed by Kühner because the idea which they represent is virtually contained in οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες. On the other hand, Vollbrecht and Macmichael have admitted them into their text.

εἰς καλὸν]=καλῶς, 'in good season', 'to good purpose'. Here again, if we must needs supply anything, it should certainly be πρᾶγμα rather than χρόνον.

§ 4. (ἀλλὰ)] This force of ἀλλὰ has been explained in connexion with II. 1. 4. In the present instance, however, it is bracketed by Kühner and some of the editors as the addition of a clever copyist.

οὕτω διατίθεται] 'is treated as you see'. In the sentence which follows, the portions of the text enclosed within brackets are omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of four good mss.

§ 5. ἄλλο τι ἢ] 'is it not the case that nothing hinders our advance?' In other words 'does anything hinder our advance?' See note on II. 5. 10. The phrase ἄλλο τι ἢ is an elliptical expression meaning 'is it anything else than...?' 'is the case otherwise than...?' corresponding in fact with the Latin *nonne*—?

εἰ μὴ] One of the regular phrases for a *negative condition* or (as here) an *exception*. Note the omission of the article: 'a few men as you see'.

§ 6. σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρα] 'about a plethrum and a half'. Another expression for the same amount, and one much used by Herodotus, would be δεύτερον ἡμίπλεθρον, 'the second only a half-plethrum'.

βαλλομένων] Compare note on IV. 6. 12, 'which we must cross within range of their missiles'.

διαλειπούσαις] 'at intervals'. Lit. 'leaving spaces between them'.

ἀντὶ ὧν] 'opposite to which', and therefore by inference from the context 'behind which'.

ῥῶν] 'now the remainder of the distance *from that point*'. λωφῆ-
σωσιν, 'whenever the shower of stones shall have *abated*', a poetical
word used in connexion with the plague at Athens (Thuc. II. 49).

§ 7. πολλοί] Notice the position of the article, 'the stones fly in
showers'.

αὐτὸ] 'the very thing', he answered, 'that we require'.

μικρόν τι] White regards this as an accusative *after παραδραμεῖν*, but
the two clauses of the sentence are more evenly balanced if we take
it as the nominative to ἔσται, i. e. μικρόν τι ἔσται (ὥστε) παραδραμεῖν.
ἀπελθεῖν is to 'go back', with which contrast the use of ἀπήλθον in the
following section with an exactly opposite force.

§ 8. ἡ ἡγεμονία] 'for he took the lead among the captains of the
rearguard'. λοχαγῶν is a partitive genitive, not governed by ἡγεμονία
but following τούτου. The λόχος which led the way had the post of
danger: consequently, as White observes, each company took the
position in turn.

φυλαττόμενος] 'protecting himself'.

§ 9. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ] See note on IV. I. 13.

ὑφίστασαν] 'drew up their men for shelter just outside the trees'.
This compound is more suggestive than ἐφίστασαν which is preferred by
some of the editors. It is also more in accordance with the tense, which
is scarcely suitable to so instantaneous an act as halting an army. With
either verb supply λόχους rather than ἐαυτούς, as the latter would be a
very questionable construction.

§ 10. ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς] 'at each of his sallies'. We have
noticed the character of the verb ἀνεχάζετο in connexion with IV. I. 16.

§ 11. πρῶτος] refers to Agasias, 'fearing he should not be the first
to run past'. δέδοικα μὴ = *verecor ne*, 'I fear something *will* happen',
but δέδοικα μὴ οὐ = *verecor ne...non*, 'I fear something *will not* happen'.
After a historic tense the optative will of course take the place of the
subjunctive. One other important construction remains to be noticed,
viz. δέδοικα with the indicative, expressive of great certainty, e. g.
δέδοικα μὴ τέθνηκε, 'I fear that he is dead'.

οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀριστ.] 'not even Aristonymus', as otherwise we should
require οὐτε in place of οὐδὲ for these successive negatives.

§ 12. τῆς ἔντος] 'the rim of his shield'. It is also used for the
felloe of a wheel, indeed for the outer edge of any round body.

ἀντεποιούντο] 'made pretensions to courage and vied with one
another in displaying it'.

§ 13. ῥιπτοῦσαι] Kühner agrees with Bornemann in preferring
this frequentative form of the present, which occurs with the same force
in *Cyrop.* III. I. 25 and elsewhere, though the verb in its remaining
tenses follows the formation of ῥίπτω.

§ 14. ἐπισπάται] 'drags him after him, and both went tumbling
down the rocks'.

§§ 15—19. *Enter the country of the Chalybes. Description of their
dress and manner of life. Arrive at the river Harpasus, and, after
passing through the plain lands of the Scythini, reach the city of Gymnias,
from which they take a guide.*

Χαλύβων] Called by Pliny *Armeno-Chalybes* to distinguish them

from other branch tribes who inhabited Pontus and Paphlagonia. It is commonly supposed that the Greek troops followed the road to *Kars* which takes the same line as the modern route, and, crossing the mountains from *Kars* to the *Arpa chai* at *Kizil Chak Chak*, completed a journey of something more than fifty miles. The alternative theory (for which see note on § 18) assumes that they travelled in a north-easterly direction to the valley of the *Juruk su*.

τῶν πτερύγων] 'and in place of the usual skirts they wore thickly twisted cords'. By *πτέρυγες* are meant the fringes of the cuirass which were usually made of leather or felt. According to Hutchinson, the cuirass itself was composed of folds of linen, steeped in vinegar and salt and then compressed into a solid plate.

§ 16. ξυήλην] 'and at the belt they wore a knife of the size of a Laconian scimitar'. The *ξυήλη* was shaped like a sickle and is a term of Laconian origin. For *ἔσφαττον* see note on *κατεσφάγη*, IV. i. 23, and translate *δύναωτο* as a *frequentative*.

ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν] 'they would cut off their heads and carry them with them on their march'. In a note on IV. 5. 32, I alluded incidentally to this *frequentative* sense of ἂν with the aorist and imperfect indicative. In this and similar combinations it affects the participle no less than the leading verb (cf. Demos. § 1951, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τοὺς χρόνους ἀνελών...τηνικαὐτ' ἐκάλει), the former of which is practically equivalent to a second imperfect. Compare, in particular, a note on the force of ἂν in III. i. 6.

μίαν λόγχην] To distinguish it from the Grecian spear which had a second spike at the butt end (στύραξ or σαυρωτήρ) by which it could be planted in the ground.

§ 17. ἐν τούτοις] For the force of the preposition, see note on § 1.

ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν] To preserve the usual force of ὥστε with the infinitive this clause should be printed in close connexion with the preceding, as denoting the *object* with which the Chalybes had stored away their provisions. The *result* is marked by the change to the indicative *διετράφησαν*.

§ 18. Ἄρπασον ποταμόν] Great difficulty is experienced in identifying this river. It has been generally assumed to be the modern *Arpa-chai*, the northern and chief branch of the Araxes. But this river could scarcely have had a width of four hundred feet at this part of its course, on the assumption that the Greeks fell in with it at the point where it is crossed by the high road from Erzroom and Kars. Accordingly Layard and Chesney consider that the river alluded to is the *Juruk su*, called afterwards the *Apsarus* and *Acampsis*.

διὰ Σκυθινῶν] Of this tribe we have no certain information. They lived near the Euxine, bordering on the territory of the *Macrones*, and were possibly the survivors of a party of Scythian invaders.

§ 19. Γυμνίας] This place has been variously identified with *Comasour*, *Erzroom* and *Ispir*. The last assumption is the most probable, more especially as *Mount Theches* is generally supposed to correspond with *Tekiya Tagh* from which *Ispir* is about sixty miles distant. This would give an average march of twelve miles a day if we suppose the Greeks to have followed the valley of the *Juruk su*.

πέμπει] This historic present, being equivalent to a past tense, accounts for the optative which follows.

τῆς αὐτῶν πολεμίας] 'which was at war with his own tribe'. Cf. εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμίαν in the next section.

§§ 20—end. *Their guide conducting them they reach Mount Theches and obtain their first view of the sea.*

(πέντε ἡμερῶν)] 'in five days'. Lit. 'at some period within five days'. These words are retained by Vollbrecht, Bornemann, and the majority of the editors, though they are under the necessity of transposing them from the place which they occupy in the MSS after ὄθεν to their present position in the text. Kühner, however, condemns them as an interpolation, the origin of which may, he thinks, be found in the opening clause of § 21: καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸ (ιερόν) ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

τεθνάναι] Notice the certainty expressed by the tense, 'he offered to be slain on the spot'. The verb ἐνέβαλεν is to be taken, as usual, in an intransitive sense: 'he had entered (i.e. invaded) the territory which was at enmity with his tribe'.

τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας] 'good will towards the Greeks'. For the genitive τῶν Ἑλλήνων, see note on IV. 5. 13.

§ 21. τὸ [ιερόν] ὄρος] The adjective is omitted by Kühner with the two best MSS. It is a slight argument in its favour that the ancient no less than the modern name (*Tekiya* or *Tekieh Tagh*) is suggestive of a chapel or monastery which had existed on the spot.

§ 22. ἔμπροσθεν] In opposition to εἶποντο ὀπισθεν which follows. βοῶν ὠμοβόεια] In illustration of this genitive White compares such expressions as εὐδὸς τοῦ ἀθλίου βίος, where ἀθλίου is in apposition with ἐμοῦ to be supplied from ἐμῖς. So in the present instance βοῶν is in apposition with the same genitive implied in ὠμοβόεια.

§ 23. οἱ ἀεὶ ἐπίοντες] For this use of ἀεὶ, see note on IV. 1. 7, 'the fresh-comers as they arrived'.

§ 24. παρεγγυόντων] 'reliquis ut appropereant' (*Krüger*), 'cheering on the rest' (*White*). But, to judge from the sense of παρεγγυήσαντος below and παρεγγυῶτο in IV. 1. 17, it clearly means no more than 'passing the word (θάλαττα) along the lines'.

ἠλαύνετο] 'were pressed to a gallop'. Lit. 'were driven hard'.

§ 25. περιέβαλλον] Sub. χεῖρας, 'they threw their arms round one another'. According to Tate and others the reciprocity of the action required the middle voice, but the employment of the active is not inconsistent either with analogy or usage. The ordinary force of the middle is to 'throw something round oneself', e.g. τεύχεα, εἶμα and the like, while the converse is more usual in a metaphorical sense, to 'throw oneself around something', i.e. to appropriate it.

ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος] 'some one or other having passed the word to do so'. The phrase in full would have been παρεγγυήσαντος ὅστις δὴ παρεγγύησεν, or, still more simply, ὅστις δὴ ἦν.

§ 26. κατέτεμνε] As otherwise they would have been carried off by the inhabitants of the district.

§ 27. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ] 'from the common stock'. Notice the force of the article in τοὺς δακτυλίου, a reading which Schneider regards with suspicion: 'their rings', 'the rings which he saw on their fingers'.

CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1—8. *The Greeks enter the territory of the Macrones, who at first oppose but afterwards assist them. Conducted by these they arrive at the frontiers of the Colchians.*

διὰ Μακρώνων] These are the *Sauni* mentioned by Strabo, and are supposed by Herodotus to have been of the same family as the Colchians.

§ 2. οὖον χαλεπώτατον] ‘on their right hand they had high ground most difficult of ascent’. In place of *ὕπὲρ δεξιῶν*, which is preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of two good MSS, the majority of the editors give *ὑπερδέξιον*, an adjective which in v. 7. 31 appears to be a mere equivalent for *ὑψηλόν*. Observe the addition of *οἶον* for the purpose of strengthening the superlative. Lit. ‘a place such as the most difficult is’.

ἐνέβαλλεν] ‘emptied itself’. The words *δι’ οἱ* are to be understood as referring to the last-named river (*ὁ ὀρίζων*). Col. Chesney places the junction of these two rivers near the modern village of *Damajula*. One of the rivers (he adds) coming from the north-west has remarkably steep banks, rising fifteen or twenty feet, with hills above, of difficult ascent on the eastern side, and a chain of more accessible shoulders on the opposite; both are covered with firs and silver poplars of small size (*παχέσι μὲν οὔ*).

δένδρεσι] This form (which appears again in *Oec.* iv. 14) is preferred by Kühner to *δένδροις* on the authority of the two best MSS.

ἐκοπτον] Their object in this was twofold, (i) to clear a passage to the river, and (ii) to use the trees as they felled them for bridging over the stream.

§ 3. λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριπτον] The motive for this is not clear, though, in all probability, it was simply to warn them against attempting the passage of the river. The idea that they were intended as stepping-stones, a suggestion adopted by Kühner, appears to me far-fetched and improbable.

οὔτε ἔβλαπτον] This is the reading of two good MSS, and I believe that Macmichael is right in retaining it, though he should have added a note in explanation of so remarkable a solecism. Had the writer used the ordinary sequence of negatives (i.e. *οὐ...οὐδὲ* or *οὔτε...οὔτε*), he would have represented the two clauses of the sentence as of *equal* importance. That this was not his intention we may readily infer from the emphatic position of the leading negative, which (if I may use the expression) covers the ground of the second: ‘they did not reach them *and consequently* did not injure them’.

Breitenbach solves the difficulty by writing *οὐδὲ* for *οὔτε*. White reads *ἐξικνούντο δὲ οὐδέ, οὐδ’ ἔβλαπτον οὐδένα*, a most intolerable sentence.

§ 5. ἀντιτετάχεται] An Ionic form for *ἀντιτεταγμένοι εἰσιν* used repeatedly by the most classical writers.

§ 6. καὶ ὑμεῖς] A retort to the question *τί χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμοι*

εἶναι; In the answer however the charge of hostility is *implied* rather than *expressed* in the words ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐρχεσθε. The employment of ὅτι in two parallel clauses with a totally different sense is entirely in keeping with our author's usage. His systematic contempt for neatness and elegance of style forms one of the chief subjects of *Introd.* II.

§ 7. εἰ δοῖεν ἂν] The addition of ἂν implies, as usual, a suppressed hypothesis, e.g. εἰ αἰτήσειαν (which Kühner suggests) or some equivalent. Cf. εἰ ἐθέλοι ἂν in II. 6. 27.

λόγῃην] Cf. *Hom. II. Z.* 230.

§ 8. συνεξέκοπτον] 'helped them to clear the trees from their path and worked at making their road, with the view of forwarding them through their territory'. I prefer this rendering of the participle to the alternative theory which would limit its application to the actual passage of the river.

παρήγαγον] 'forwarded them on their way'.

§§ 9-19. *Enter the territory of the Colchians who are drawn up on a range of hills to oppose their progress. The Greeks dislodge them and encamp in a number of villages.*

ὄρος μέγα] The *Kolat Tagh* of Brant, and *Kara Kaban* of Hamilton.

οἱ Κόλχοι] They occupied the coast of the Euxine from *Trapezus* to the *Phasis*.

ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα] I have omitted the preposition κατὰ before φάλαγγα with Vollbrecht, Bornemann, and the majority of the editors. Kühner retains it on the authority of three MSS, only one of which has any strong claim on our respect.

βουλευσασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν] 'to meet and deliberate'. For ὅπως with the future indicative, see note on IV. 6. 7.

§ 10. διασπασθήσεται] 'will be broken'.

§ 11. ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι] opposed to ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι below, 'many deep...few deep'.

περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν] 'will outnumber us and will employ their surplus men for any purpose they may please'. White calls attention to the fact that the genitive ἡμῶν is due to the idea of comparison which is contained in the verb. περιττεύουσιν is usually translated 'will *outflank* us', a sense which, though implied by the context, is decidedly less forcible than the original idea: 'the longer the file, the more numerous will the enemy be in proportion to its front'.

ἀθρόων] 'by a simultaneous assault in some particular quarter both of missiles and men'. The adjective πολλῶν, which does not appear in the inferior MSS, is added in forgetfulness that the word ἀθρόων had been constructed with ἀνθρώπων as well as with βελῶν.

§ 12. ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους] By this clever manœuvre of bringing up the army in parallel columns with open spaces between them the extension of the phalanx was secured without its weakness. 'My advice is that we should form the companies in column and occupy such an extent of ground with the companies by leaving intervals between them that those who are at the extreme ends shall find themselves outside the enemy's wings'.

διαλεπόντας] Cf. IV. 7. 6. For ὅσον with the infinitive, see note on

δσον σκοταλους διελθεῖν (IV. 1. 5), while the force of the aorist γενέσθαι has been already noticed in connexion with IV. 6. 9.

οὕτως ἐσόμεθα] 'and thus *our* army will be disposed as follows'. For this general nominative and its subsequent distribution, cf. IV. 6. 25, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων... Χειρίσοφος δέ κ.τ.λ.

οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν] Because the λοχαγοὶ would march at the head of each column. πρῶτοι is a conjectural emendation (accepted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors) in place of the manuscript reading πρῶτον, which Dindorf still retains.

§ 13. οὐδεὶς μὴ ἐτι μείνη] 'not a man of the enemy will any longer stand his ground'. Learn by heart the constructions of οὐ μή:—(i) by putting a negative before the elliptic μὴ with a subjunctive we have the denial of a fear = *a future with a strong negation*, 'there is no fear that the enemy will stand his ground': (ii) οὐ μή is combined with the second person of the future indicative in questions denoting a strong prohibition, e.g. οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις; 'don't trifle'. In the latter construction the μὴ goes closely with the verb which it negatives, 'will you not *not-trifle*?' Compare the same expression in II. 2. 12.

§ 14. ἐποίουν] sc. οἱ λοχαγοί.

τὸ μὴ εἶναι] 'so that we *are* not already there', while τοῦ μὴ ἦδη εἶναι would mean 'so that we *should not be* there', the latter regarding the object as *merely contemplated*, the former as *actually realised*.

ὠμοὺς δεῖ καταφαγεῖν] Coarse but vigorous. Cf. ὠμὸν βεβρώσους Πρίαμον Πριάμοιο τε παῖδας (II. Δ. 35) and its parody by Attius Labeo: *crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos*.

§ 15. White notices the correspondence between the number of the troops mentioned in this chapter with that given in the title of the work. In the present case we hear of 8000 Hoplites and 1800 Peltasts and light troops: in all, 9800.

§ 17. ἀντιπαρθέοντες] 'running to the flank to meet them', i.e. 'extending their line both ways to confront the Greeks'.

§ 18. *διαχάζοντας*] 'leaving a break in their lines' is the emendation of Schneider in place of the corrupt διχάζοντας, and the only instance of its use as an intrans. act. The context shews that οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταὶ means 'the peltasts in the Arcadian contingent', with which compare the phrase τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν (Thuc. VII. 78). It is clear from §§ 15, 16 that these troops were posted in the centre. More often the preposition would indicate troops stationed *at* (i.e. to confront) a particular part of the enemy's line.

§ 19. ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις] These villages (according to Ainsworth) correspond with the Greek hamlets which occupy at present the head of the valley leading down from the range of hills mentioned in § 9.

§§ 20, 21. *Intoxicating effects of the honey produced in the neighbourhood.*

ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν] 'which *at all* surprised them'. In combinations of this kind καὶ may increase or lessen the emphasis according to the context. The latter explanation is more in accordance with the negative form of the present sentence.

ἄφρονές τε ἐγίνοντο] These intoxicating effects were due to certain plants on which the bees had fed, among others the *azalea pontica* and

the *rhododendron ponticum*. Pliny (XXI. 13) ascribes the same effects to the honey produced in this neighbourhood, and his statements are borne out by Hamilton and others who have made trial of it in more modern times.

ἀποθνήσκουσιν] is of course a participle, 'men at their last gasp'.

§ 21. οὕτω] 'as I have described', 'in this state'. It is better to take οὕτω in this sense than to connect it closely with the words which follow.

§§ 22—end. *The Greeks reach Trapezus, and for thirty days plunder the surrounding territory of the Colchians. Sacrifices to Jupiter and Heracles, and games to celebrate their arrival at the coast.*

Τραπεζοῦντα] *Trebizond*. Its Greek name was derived in all probability from an isolated and lofty piece of table-land (τράπεζα), which rises on the south-east of the adjoining town. ἀποικίαν, 'a colony from Sinope'. Beginners will notice the difference between ἔποικοι 'immigrants' and ἀποικοι 'emigrants'. Thus the same individual is ἀποικος in reference to the country he leaves, and ἔποικος in relation to the country he adopts.

§ 23. ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενοι] 'sallying forth from these', 'using these as their base of operations'.

§ 24. συνδιεπράττοντο] Observe the force of the preposition διὰ, 'they carried on in concert with them *a course of negotiations*'. The word μάλιστα is referred by Krüger to συνδιεπράττοντο, and by Kühner to τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. I believe that neither explanation can be justified, the rhythm and arrangement of the clause suggesting very decidedly that the adverb is to be connected with οἰκοῦντων, 'those *I mean*, who had their dwellings directly in the adjacent plain'.

(πλέον)] Neither πλέον nor τὸ πλέον, which it is proposed to substitute for it, are admissible readings in place of the complete phrase ὡς ἐπὶ πλέον. I would suggest πλείους as a simple and effective emendation.

§ 25. ἦν εὐχάντο] Compare § 16. ἡγεμόσυνα are 'thank-offerings for safe conduct'.

§ 26. τὰ δέσματα παρόδον] To be offered as prizes in the games. Cf. Herod. II. 91, παρέχοντες ἅλλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέσματα.

μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται] 'so much the worse for him who is thrown'.

§ 27. αἰχμαλώτων] It has been proposed to substitute Λακεδαιμονίων for αἰχμαλώτων and to understand it as referring to the Spartan *erhebi* who followed the camp, simply on the ground that the Greeks would not allow slaves to compete in their games with freeborn citizens. But any such alteration is quite unnecessary, as it is unlikely that any but adult soldiers would have been allowed to take part in the original expedition, while it is also extremely improbable that the strict rules of entry would have been enforced on such an occasion.

δόλιχον] In the στάδιον the course was an eighth of a mile in length, the διάυλος was this distance doubled, while the δόλιχος or long course consisted of six, twelve or twenty-four stadia according to circumstances.

κατέβησαν] 'entered the lists'. Lat. *ad certamen descenderant*.

§ 28. ἔδει] 'and the course prescribed for them was that they should gallop down the steep till they reached the sea, then turn and work their way back again up hill to the altar'. For the position of the words ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, see note on IV. 1. 3.

NOTES.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

τῇ μέχρ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν] In IV. 5. 6 we find the corresponding phrase ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον.

ἀφίκοντο] The optative, for which ἀφίκοντο is read by a few MSS, throws the sentence into the oblique narration as forming a part of the original words.

§§ 2—4. *In accordance with the suggestion of Antileon it is voted that Cheirisophus shall be despatched to the Spartan admiral, Anaxibius, to obtain from him ships for the conveyance of the Greeks.*

Θούριος] Thurii was a city of Lucania in Magna Graecia, founded by a colony of Athenians, and situated on the gulf of Tarentum near the site of Sybaris.

τοῖνυν] 'now I for my part, said he, am wearied out.' The word τοῖνυν is often introduced thus to soften transitions, a use in which it corresponds with the Latin *autem*. Its force is scarcely so pronounced as that of *igitur* in Latin with which Kühner however prefers to compare it.

ξυσκευαζόμενος] A participle is often added thus to ἀπείρηκα and similar verbs, e.g. in Soph. *Trach.* 789 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέειπε πολλὰ μὲν τάλας χθονὶ ῥίπτων ἑαυτόν, κ.τ.λ.

φυλακὰς φυλάττων] For a similar cognate accusative compare στρατηγήσοντα ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν (I. 3. 15), while φυλακὰς φυλάξειν occurs again in II. 6. 10.

(καθεύδων)] This participle, which is admitted by Kühner into his text, is rejected by Breitenbach and bracketed by Schneider, Bornemann, and Macmichael. It appears in but one of the five leading MSS, while its presence in the text may be further objected to on the score of internal evidence. The passage in the *Sympos.* IV. 31, ἡδέως μὲν καθεύδω ἐκτεταμένος, though at first sight analogous, offers no justification for the introduction of the double participle.

ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς] The passage which describes the arrival of Ulysses at Ithaca and how he was left asleep on the shore by the Phoenician sailors (*Od.* XIII. 116) is rendered in Pope's version as follows:

*Ulysses sleeping on his couch they bore;
And gently placed him on the rocky shore.*

§ 4. καὶ τυγχάνει] Three out of the four leading mss read καὶ before τυγχάνει which is retained by Kühner and all the best editors: 'and he is too at the present time the admiral of the fleet.' As Kühner points out, the natural order of the sentence τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ναυαρχῶν (which would have offended no one) is purposely inverted by the author in order that the words φίλος and ναυαρχῶν may be placed in stronger relief.

πέμψετε] to Byzantium, where, as we gather from a passage in VII. 1. 3, the Lacedaemonian admiral was at this time stationed.

εἶπερ] 'since you wish to go by sea,' Macmichael, a rendering which is suggestive rather of εἴγε than of the slight doubt which is almost without exception denoted by εἶπερ. Translate therefore 'if in truth you prefer to go by sea.'

§§ 5—13. *A speech is made by Xenophon in which plans are proposed for the maintenance and safety of the Greeks during the absence of Cheirisophus, and other means suggested for securing their return home in case his mission should fail.*

§ 6. εὐπόρια] 'a supply of funds with which to make purchases,' ὅτου being of course the genitive of price. This twofold want has been repeatedly referred to in the earlier books as an important consideration in determining the future course of the expedition.

§ 7. σὺν προνομαῖς] 'with organised forays,' as the word is evidently used in contrast with the expressions ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύεσθαι and ἄλλως πλανᾶσθαι. Muretus suggests the elegant emendation σὺν προδρόμοις, but Kühner sufficiently defends the text by the analogy of the following passage in the *Cynorh.* (VI. 1. 24) ἐξῆγεν αἰεὶ εἰς προνομάς... ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὰς τάξεις ὑπομνησκοντο. The word occurs again in *Hel.* IV. 1. 16, though without any explanation which can help us in determining its meaning.

πλανᾶσθαι] In place of the infinitive Kühner reads πλανᾶσθε on the authority of two out of the five leading mss. I cannot however agree with him, as the return to the oblique narration after the introduction of this parenthesis is surely an awkward and unnatural construction. In either case the infinitive ἐπιμελεῖσθαι must depend on the preceding verb δοκεῖ, while ἡμᾶς will refer to the generals, and τούτων to the subject-matter of the entire sentence.

§ 8. ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ] Kühner, and with him Matt. and Jelf, understand γὰρ in this connexion as equivalent to γὰρ ἄρα (cf. *Anab.* VI. 4. 8 τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν... τούτοι οὖν κ.τ.λ.) adding the following explanation: *saepe γὰρ rationem emutationis sequentis reddere videtur; at videtur tantum.* Madvig, on the other hand, explains it as assigning a relation or circumstance which has been already pointed at by a preceding demonstrative pronoun, and would render it in English by 'namely' or 'that.' It is probably simply *proleptic* in the sense of ἔπει, 'as some of you will go... therefore I think' etc.

ὅποι] i. e. μέλλει ἐξίέναι 'and also to inform us of the direction.'

ἐγχειρῇ ποι] which has been emended by most of the editors into ἐγχειρῇ τι ποιεῖν, is retained by Kühner and Breitenbach on the authority of three at any rate of the five leading mss, although the passage from Diod. XL. 80 ἐπεχειρήσαμεν εἰς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας, which

they quote in support of it, is hardly an instance in point, as the compound ἐπιχειρεῖν is more indicative of motion, and the object likewise is more definitely expressed.

ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν] By understanding δύναμιν directly as a noun of multitude, i. e. 'the troops,' 'the force,' we can avoid the necessity of supplying τούτων with οὓς, which is the alternative explanation suggested by Kühner and the other editors.

§ 9. κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες] is the reading of all the MSS with the exception of one which gives μερισθῶμεν φυλάττοντες. Notwithstanding, Kühner is almost the only editor who retains μερισθέντες as part of the text, Schneider and others considering it to have been added in explanation of κατὰ μέρος. They contend moreover that εἰς μέρη μερίζειν rather than κατὰ μέρος μερίζειν is the legitimate phrase, an objection which is anticipated by Kühner when he proposes to disconnect the words κατὰ μέρος from the participle, and to understand them in the sense of 'by turns.' It is doubtful however whether even this concession is needed, as the analogous phrases κατὰ μέρη διηρημένοι, κατ' ἀναπαύλας διηρημένοι are found in Thucydides (e. g. II. 75).

θηρᾶν] a poetical word, denoting either the *pursuit* as in Soph. *Ai.* 2, πείραν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάσαι θηρώμενον, or the *capture* as in Soph. *Ant.* 432 σὺν δέ νιν Θηρώμεθ' εὐθὺς οὐδὲν ἐκπεπληγμένην.

§ 10. ἤξει] for which two out of the five best MSS give ἤξοι, is rightly retained by the editors, as the form of the sentence implies that the hypothesis is presumptively, though not actually, realised. '*Granting that we had been assured of his return.*' Cf. Madv. obs. gr. p. 20, and Dem. *Megal.* § 12 οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠθελήσατε δήπου σώζειν αὐτούς, εἰ τοῦτο προὔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι σωθέντες...οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν ἔξουσι τῆς σωτηρίας.

υπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε] 'while we have ships ready on the spot.'

§ 11. μακρὰ πλοῖα] *naves longas*. Observe that with the verbs κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν it is πλοῖα alone, and not μακρὰ πλοῖα, that must be supplied. 'If therefore we were to ask for the loan of some ships of war, and (by this means) bring the craft into harbour and detain them there, unshipping their rudders...we should probably secure the necessary means of conveyance.'

τὰ πηδάλια παραλυόμεναι] The object of this manœuvre, the nature of which has been fully explained by Prof. Paley in his note to Eur. *Hel.* 1536, was of course to render escape impossible.

§ 12. ἐννοήσατε...εἰ εἰκὸς] 'bethink you whether it be not right,' a construction which occurs again in III. 2. 22 σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι, where I have discussed it in a note as peculiar to Xenophon and objectionable for the ambiguity which it causes in the sense.

ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι] 'to come to terms with them about the price of the passage.' It is not impossible however that ναῦλον may be used in the more general sense of 'pay,' as, independent of what they were to receive in the shape of passage-money, the crews would probably require some compensation for the loss of time caused by their detention in harbour.

§ 13. ἢν ἄρα] 'if, as may possibly be the case, these efforts on

our part should prove unsuccessful.' On the authority of three good MSS Bornemann endeavours to defend the reading ἀρκεῖ in place of ἀρκεῖν. The two passages however which he quotes in support of his theory (Isocr. *Soph.* 3 p. 504, and Xen. *R. eq.* VI. 13) are with reason objected to by Kühner, as in both cases the statements have reference to realised facts.

ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκουμένοις] For the accusative see III. I. I.

§§ 14—end. *The assembly declines to entertain the question of a land journey, in consequence of which Xenophon makes private arrangements with the inhabitants for the repair of the roads. Dexippus a Spartan, and Polycrates an Athenian, receive each the command of a galley. Defection of Dexippus, and death of Cleænetus in a foray.*

ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδὲν] 'put nothing formally to the vote.' Ἐπιψηφίζειν with an accusative occurs again in VII. 3. 14, and the addition is so common with every class of verb as scarcely to need comment, had not ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐ, ἐνίας δὲ πόλεις been proposed as an emendation. That no change is necessary is sufficiently proved by Dindorf, who further suggests that ἐνίας δὲ πόλεις would be questionable Greek in place of the more usual ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων.

§ 15. περίοικον] 'a Lacedaemonian provincial.' The *perioeci* were the free inhabitants of the towns round Sparta, and consisted in a great measure of the native population who had given place to their conquerors. They were excluded from civil but not from military offices, and held a position midway between the Spartans (or ὅμοιοι) on the one hand and the Helots and Neodamods on the other. For further information see in particular Grote, Arn. *Thuc.* I. 101, Valck. *Herod.* IX. 11, and *Phil. Mus.* II. p 63.

ἐξω τοῦ Πόντου] Amongst other places, as Kühner points out, Byzantium is meant, where Dexippus endeavoured to prejudice Xenophon and the Greek army in the eyes of Anaxibius and Clearchus (VI. I. 32, VI. 6. 9).

πολυπραγμονῶν τι] The same class of accusative which we have noticed above in reference to ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδὲν, the precise meaning of which it is often difficult to determine. Thus πολυπραγμονεῖν τι may mean either (1) to do *some one thing* in a meddlesome way, or (2) to be meddlesome in many things *after some one fashion*: while the same ambiguity is found in the case of ἐπεψήφισεν οὐδὲν, which may equally well be rendered 'he put no formal question,' or 'he did not put that particular question *in any form*.'

§ 16. κατῆγεν] The optative and the imperfect are alike frequentative in force.

χρήσαιντο] So Kühner alone on the authority of the four leading MSS, while ἐχρήσαντο, which is adopted by the rest of the editors, he regards as an attempt to reduce the sentence to a grammatical form, and defends the reading of the text on the following grounds. Τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις εἰς παραγωγὴν ἐχρῶντο would, he thinks, have been the regular form of the words, had not the author, as the sentence was in progress, diverted by a species of attraction the verb of the leading clause into the mood of the subordinate.

Ingenious as the above explanation undoubtedly is, I can yet see no objection to the simpler expedient of making *χρήσαιντο* depend like *εἴη* directly upon *ὅπως*, in which case the verb *χρήσαιντο* will refer more particularly to the idea contained in the words *τὰ ἀγώγιμα ἐξαιρούμενοι*, 'they removed the cargoes to make the ships available for cruising work along the coast.'

εἰς παραγωγὴν] Not, I think, 'for the transmission of their troops,' as Sturz suggests, but 'for cruising work along the coast,' under which I would include the conveyance of provisions for the army, whether peaceably or by plundering from their neighbours. Kühner and Krüger consider that depredation was the sole object in view on the strength of a passage from Diod. XIV. 31, *ἐλήστευον τοὺς περιοικούντας βαρβάρους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν*.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—3. *To increase their stock of supplies, Xenophon leads out half the army on an expedition against the Drilae, who lay waste their own lands, and then take refuge in their principal stronghold.*

ἀπαυθημερίζειν] 'to return the same day,' is one of the quasi-poetical compounds which form such a marked feature in the language of Xenophon.

στρατόπεδον] which is the reading of the four best MSS, has been adopted by Kühner and the majority of the editors, on the ground that the variant *στράτευμα* does not imply the idea of a *camp*, which is clearly required by the context.

εἰς Δρίλας] A tribe who occupied a tract of country to the south of Trebizond, and whom Arrian under the name of *Δρίλλας* (*Periplus* p. 123) confounds with the *Sanni* of a later date. Kühner however identifies the *Sanni* with the *Macrones* mentioned in IV. 8. 1.

πολλοὶ...ἀθροεῖ] 'collected in numbers.'

§ 2. *αὐτοῖς*] is introduced *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, as *ὁπόθεν* in the previous clause is virtually equivalent to *εἰς τοὺτους ἀφ' ὧν*. Cf. Herod. IX. 1 *ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίγνεται, τοὺτους παρελάμβανε*.

§ 3. *εἶναι ἐδόκει*] Kühner and Breitenbach adopt this order of the words on the authority of two leading MSS, while *ἐδόκει εἶναι* is preferred by Krüger, Bornemann, Schneider and others. The rhythm of the sentence is in favour of the reading in the text, while the usage of the historians, who with the exception of Thucydides preferred a natural to a rhythmical order, is distinctly in favour of *ἐδόκει εἶναι*.

§§ 4—16. *An attack made on the fort by two thousand light-armed troops fails, but, acting on their advice, Xenophon organises a regular assault which proves successful.*

προδραμόντες] for which most of the MSS give *προτρέχοντες*, is found in the four leading MSS, though in two of them it appears

in the manifestly corrupt form *προσδραμόντες*. Tr. 'having outstripped the heavy-armed troops by five or six stadia.'

δορυφόροι] The editors are agreed in referring this word to casual members of the attacking party who had armed themselves thus for purposes of plunder rather than to some definite body of troops who were known by this name.

εἰς δισχιλίους] The preposition, though it does not appear in three of the leading MSS, has been restored by the majority of the editors on the assumption that it may easily have been merged in the first three letters of the word *δισχιλίους*.

§ 5. *ἀναβεβλημένη*] is usually regarded as a condensed expression. Thus Bornemann renders it '*fossa ducta humo egesta*,' 'a trench, formed by throwing up the soil that came from it.' But there is little question that, in addition to the idea of a *trench*, the substantive *τάφρος* suggested by implication an *agger*, the formation of which was a simultaneous process, and, if so, we need seek no further for an explanation of the participle *ἀναβεβλημένη*. The ambiguity of the word *τάφρος* has been exactly reproduced in our modern use of the term 'dyke.'

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς] Cf. *ἀμβολὰς γῆ* (*Cyr. VII. 5. 12*), and also the phrase *δικέλλης ἐκβολή*, 'earth thrown up by spade,' which appears in *Soph. Antig. 250*.

ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπεχείρουν] 'so they attempted to retire.'

§ 6. *ἀποτρέχειν*] This verb is peculiarly applicable to denote the quick retreat of a light-armed force, and doubly so if we revert to the commencement of § 4, *προδραμόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν ὀπιλιῶν*.

ἐφ' ἐνός] 'in single file.' *De fronte aut latitudine dictum est*, Krüg., who compares *Cyr. II. 4. 2*. It is also used of *depth*. Cf. *I. 2. 15*, *ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων*.

§ 7. *ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν*] i.e. *ὁ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα πεμφθείς*, as we may easily gather from the preceding section.

§ 8. *θέσθαι...τὰ ὄπλα*] 'to stand to their arms.' See Grote on *Thuc. II. 2*. The phrase *θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα* will be found fully explained in the note to the words *ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ* (*IV. 2. 16*). Its force in the present instance will correspond with the second of the proposed renderings.

ὥς ἀλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου] 'in the hope that by so doing the place might be taken.' The construction will be found fully explained in *Jelf, § 429. 3*, the *ἂν* of course implying the hypothesis *εἰ οὗτοι διαβιβάζοντο* or *εἰ τοῦτο γίνοντο*. The participle with *ἂν* being a recognised usage in these conditional clauses, it is hardly necessary to say, with Kühner and Macmichael, that *ὥς ἀλόντος ἂν* stands for *νομίζοντα ὅτι ἀλολίη ἂν*.

§ 9. *ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν*] The entire sentence is eminently characteristic of Xenophon's style, as it is simple even to baldness. 'For a retreat was judged to be an impossibility without incurring a heavy loss, while the captains on their part thought they could take the place.'

ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν] This use of the perfect passive in place of the perfect middle is particularly common in Demosthenes, e.g. *πεποιήται* (*κατ' Ἀνδρ. 617*). Occasionally (as in *Anab. I. 6. 9*) we find the substantive *γνώμην* added, and as a rule without the article, the omission of which

may be justified on the same grounds as the omission of the substantive, i.e. that the verb had become a recognised part of this particular phrase, and therefore required no substantive to explain and no article to limit its meaning. By a corresponding idiom we find the subject often omitted with the verbs *κηρύσσειν*, *σαλπίζειν*, *γραμματεύειν* and the like.

ἔσται] For the substitution of this mood in place of the optative see note on *διέλθοιεν* (IV. 1. 3) and again on *ἔσοιτο* (IV. 3. 29). The construction is usually explained as an easy and natural transition from the oblique to the direct narration without any particular reason being suggested in each case for the change. This does not, I think, sufficiently explain the successive alterations of mood which appear in Thuc. III. 22 and in the passage quoted above from the *Anabasis* (IV. 1. 3). In these and similar cases the author evidently resorts to the indicative with the intention of giving greater reality to the idea he is contemplating.

§ 11. ἔκαστον] is to be taken with *τῶν λοχαγῶν*, 'he directed each of his captains to form his men in whatever order he thought they would fight to the best advantage.' *Ποιεῖν* is the regular word which Xenophon uses in this connexion (e.g. IV. 8. 14), and it is difficult to imagine how the idea of 'influencing their men by a speech,' to which Kühner objects, can ever have been seriously suggested as an explanation.

περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο] The somewhat similar phrase *ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι* is used by Thucydides in his account of the Plague (II. 51). Agasias, who was one of the *λοχαγοὶ* in question, is mentioned in terms of similar praise in IV. 1. 27, and again in IV. 7. 11.

§ 12. (δεῆσον)] On the authority of four good MSS, Kühner and Breitenbach have omitted this accusative absolute after *ἀκοντίζειν*, retaining it, however, with the second verb *τοξεύειν*. It is almost impossible that it can have been introduced by the author with both infinitives, and equally impossible to regard it as understood with the first verb *ἀκοντίζειν*, which is Kühner's suggestion. That its place is with the first infinitive, from which it can readily be supplied with the second, is almost a self-evident fact, nor need we hesitate to restore it to its proper position in the sentence, as it clearly formed part of the text and has simply been misplaced in some of the MSS through ignorance or carelessness.

The expressions *διηγκυλωμένους* and *ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς* will be found fully explained in a note on IV. 3. 28, where they occur again in close connexion.

τοὺς γυμνήτας] It is most unusual to find *γυμνήτας* used thus in contradistinction with *τοξότας* and *ἀκοντίστας*, both of which terms it usually includes.

ἐπιμεληθῆναι] i.e. ὥστε ἐπιμεληθῆναι, nor can I at all agree with Kühner's suggestion that the infinitive depends on *ἐπιτηδεύουσ*. The use of the article with *ἐπιτηδεύουσ*, the position of *ἐπιμεληθῆναι*, and the rhythm of the entire sentence are all in favour of our translating the passage thus: 'he sent fit persons to superintend these arrangements.'

§ 13. οἱ ὑπολοχαγοὶ] The best editors understand this word as equivalent to *πεντηκοστήρες*. Cf. III. 4. 21.

ξυνεώρων] ‘and of course had a connected view of one another.’ Krüger objects to the introduction of the particles *μέν* *δή* in the present instance on the ground that they make the assertion unnecessarily strong. But considering the explanation which immediately follows, and the corresponding passage in *Cyrus*. III. 3. 48 (*ἔλεγον, ὅτι.....καὶ παρακελεύοντο μὲν δὴ τοῖς αἰεῖ ἔξω οὖσι πολλὰ*), Kühner is probably right in retaining them after the best MSS. The admirable emendation *μνηοειδῆς* has been generally accepted by the editors in place of *μονοειδῆς* which is the reading of all the best MSS, and the alteration is confirmed by Poppo, who points out that in Thuc. II. 76 one of the MSS exhibits precisely the same corruption. The reading of the text is illustrated by Krüger from Herod. VIII. 16, *οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μνηοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλέοντο, ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτοὺς*.

§ 14. *ἅμα τε*] These words introduce the apodosis to the passage contained in § 13, the construction having been broken in the meantime by an explanatory parenthesis, and by the insertion of the additional clause *ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπαίανισαν κ.τ.λ.*

τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ] Cf. I. 8. 18, *ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἶόν περ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι*. In this instance the *ἀλαλή* is clearly distinguished from the paean, while they are apparently regarded as identical by the scholiast on Thuc. I. 50, who says that an engagement was preceded by a paean to Enyalios, and followed by one to Apollo. The *ἀλαλή* was in fact the war-cry, while the paean was a prayer or a thanksgiving for victory.

Students will observe the change of tense from the aorist *ἠλάλαξαν* to the imperfects *ἔθειον* and *ἐφέρετο*.

ομοῦ] for which Poppo and Dindorf read *ομόσε*, hardly requires the elaborate defence of Kühner. ‘*Ομόσε* could only mean that the missiles met in mid air, a fact on which Xenophon would not have wasted his words.

§ 15. *ἀναβεβήκει*] ‘had got up *without aid*.’ A similar omission of the augment (*τετήκει*) is found in IV. 5. 15.

§ 16. *ἔξω*] Notice the proleptic use of *ἔξω*, ‘kept them out.’ The order of the words is of course as follows; *ὁπόσους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐδύνατο (κατακωλύειν) ἔξω κατεκώλυσε*.

§§ 17—27. *The Greeks are still harassed by a portion of the enemy entrenched within the citadel, whom they finally dislodge by firing the surrounding buildings.*

καὶ ἔχοντες] ‘actually retaining what they had taken.’ For this intensifying force of *καὶ*, see a note on *καὶ πάλιν* (IV. 2. 13). It is scarcely necessary to point out that *τάχα* is used in the sense of *ἴσως*, ‘and it may be that one or two were wounded.’ I see however that one of the editors is at pains to prove that it means ‘presently.’

οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες] We can scarcely compare this expression with *τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (IV. 5. 7), where I have objected to the phrase as an unnatural one if we take into consideration the meaning of the verb. We can speak of a body of men as simultaneously engaged in *playing, fighting* and the like, but such an expression as *οἱ πίπτοντες* appears to me indefensible.

§ 18. *τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας*] This includes the Greek troops who were

in retreat from the town and the Drilae who were in pursuit of them.

§ 19. ἐξεκομίσαντο] The accusative may be readily supplied from the word πάντα above. For ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα see note on § 8.

§ 21. τὴν ἄφθονον] 'thereupon they commenced their preparations for the retreat, and each party proceeded to pull down the palisading in their neighbourhood,' the object being to increase the facilities of egress.

Observe the distinction between ἕκαστος and ἕκαστοι, and compare Thuc. II. 39, 'never have the Lacedaemonians met us with only a part of their forces.' For the phrase τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς see note on διαχάζοντας (IV. 8. 18) and Thuc. VII. 78. It is often used as in the present instance to denote what is stationed *at* (i.e. over against) a person or thing.

καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους] for which we might have expected τοὺς δὲ ἀχρεῖους after the preceding μέν, is easily explicable, as no antithesis is intended between τοὺς μέν σταυροὺς...διήρουν and τοὺς ἀχρεῖους ἐξεπέμποντο, the particle μέν being intended simply to emphasize what follows. The word ἀχρεῖους is equivalent to ἀχρήστους in III. 4. 26, and for the middle ἐξεπέμποντο compare ἀπεπεμφάμεθα, Dem. κατὰ Κον. § 1257, 'we caused the slaves to be removed.'

καταλιπόντες] i.e. καταλιπόντες ἐκείνους οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν. There is a slight difficulty caused in this passage by the position of the words καταλιπόντες οἱ λοχαγοί. They cannot certainly be taken with the verbs παρεσκευάζοντο and διήρουν, while to connect them with ἐξεπέμποντο necessitates a sudden change of nominative and does not explain their position in the sentence. I prefer therefore to understand them as a nominative absolute, which is very frequently added thus towards the close of a paragraph.

§ 22. κράνη Παφλαγονικά] These were of leather, as we find from V. 4. 13, and πεπλεγμένα according to Herod. VII. 72.

§ 23. ἡ νύξ...ἐπιούσα] 'the approach of night alarmed them.' In the following section Macmichael calls attention to the occurrence of an iambic line: Θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας. Although the participle ἀπορούμενος is found in Dem. κατὰ Κον. § 1260 in a passive sense, 'when my life was almost despaired of,' ἀπορουμένων is no doubt to be taken as equivalent to ἀπορούντων in the present passage.

§ 24. οὗτοι δὲ ἐνάφαντος] Cf. οὗτοι δὲ παρεγγυήσαντος (IV. 7. 25). For the use of the preposition in the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν, which is a condensed expression for οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν ὄντες ἐκ τούτων ἔφευγον, compare IV. 2. 19 πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεβλήσαν.

§ 26. οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα] 'the enemy in the front.' White's interpretation of this passage, which implies that the Greeks were retreating without confronting the foe, is manifestly inconsistent with the words οἱ κατὰ στόμα.

ἀμφὶ ταῖτα ἔχουεν] 'might have their attention turned that way.' The expression occurs again in III. 5. 14. In the *Bell. Gall.* II. 7, Caesar gives an account of a similar stratagem which was practised upon him by the Bellovaci: in addition to which many of Xenophon's words and phrases are suggestive of the passage in which Thucydides

describes the attempt made on Plataea by the Lacedæmonians (Bk. II. § 77), although the object of the manœuvre in that case was entirely different.

§§ 28—end. *The expedient devised by Mysus for the protection of the Greeks during their return to the camp.*

§ 29. Μυσὸς τὸ γένος] ‘a Mysian by birth and called too by that name,’ a passage which is exactly illustrated in Luc. *Tox.* 28, οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ Σύρος καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. That the practice was an ordinary one with the Greeks is clear from the plays of Plautus where such proper names as *Persa*, *Cappadox*, &c. are of common occurrence.

δέκα] The reading δέκα is a doubtful one, though adopted by the best editors including Kühner, Dindorf, and Poppo. It appears in four of the MSS including three of the best, while the majority give τέτταρας ἢ πέντε. Bornemann, while objecting to this latter number as too small for the purpose, thinks that the original reading was probably τέτταρας ἢ πέντε καὶ δέκα.

προσποιεῖτο] ‘made as though he were endeavouring to avoid the enemy’s notice.’

ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε] is adopted by Kühner and Bornemann after five of the leading MSS, while the rest point (with variations) to the reading ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη. Considering the context, and that the object of the stratagem was to give an exaggerated idea of the numbers concealed, I am strongly inclined to read ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη, which, notwithstanding Kühner’s assertion to the contrary, places this fact in a far stronger light than the alternative reading ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε, ‘their shields gleamed through now and then.’

§ 30. ὑπεληλυθῆναι] ‘and when Mysus thought that his friends had got far enough on their way.’ Dindorf is almost the only editor of note who joins τῷ Μυσῷ with what follows, and understands ὁ Ξενοφῶν as the subject of ἐσήμηνε. The strongest argument in favour of this punctuation, though unnoticed by Kühner, is the introduction of ὅς in the succeeding clause, which is almost superfluous if we regard ὁ Μυσὸς as the nominative to ἐσήμηνε.

The preposition in the compound ὑπεληλυθῆναι very often gives this idea of *secrecy* and *stealthiness*. The tense of the verb, no less than the circumstances of the case, are against our understanding it of a *slow* or *measured* retreat, while I do not appreciate the force of Macmichael’s rendering, ‘when he thought they had gone *from under* far enough.’

§ 31. ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ] with which Kühner well compares οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι (IV. 5. 15), is simply the statement of the men at the time of the occurrence, and not (as Krüger understands it) their account of the matter after they had returned to the camp. In the direct narration these words would have been as follows: εἰ τρέψομεν, ἔφασαν, ἀλίσκόμεθα, while the present infinitive is used in place of the future, as in the passage referred to above, to give additional prominence to the certainty of the result.

καλινδούμενοι] Kühner notices this form as less common than κυλινδούμενοι but in occasional use with even the best writers.

§ 32. ἐπὶ πῶδα ἀνεχώρουν] ‘retreated backwards,’ i. e. with their face to the foe, which is the usual signification of the phrase, the idea of

'slowly,' 'step by step,' being quite a secondary and derived one. Cf. *Cyrop.* VII. 5. 6, ἀπῆεσαν, ἕως μὲν ἐξικνεῖτο τὰ βέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ πόδα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, στραφέντες.

In the concluding sentence of the section πάντες refers to the entire party who had joined in the original foray and not merely to the handful of men with Mysus.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—3. *As Cheirisophus had not returned and supplies were failing them, the Greeks proceeded by land with the exception of the feeblest of their number, who were conveyed on ship-board under charge of Philesius and Sophacnetus. Arrival at Cerasus, where they remained for ten days and a review of the troops took place.*

§ 2. Κερασοῦντα] The site of this place is not identical with that of the modern *Kirasunt*, which is more than sixty miles from Trebizond, and could hardly have been reached by the Greeks in a three days' march, even in their present unencumbered state. More probably the town was situated in a watered valley bearing the same name (*Kirasun Darah su*) and thickly planted with cherry trees, whence Lucullus is supposed to have introduced the fruit into Europe.

σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις] for which ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις is the more usual expression, is read by Kühner on the authority of the two leading MSS. It must be carefully noticed that the entire total ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι includes not merely the hoplites (who are stated in IV. 8. 15 to have numbered less than 8000 men) but all the armed troops of whatever class, baggage carriers and the crowd of camp-followers being alone excluded.

§ 3. (ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους)] These words, which are omitted by Kühner on the authority of the three chief MSS, may I think have been due to a copyist who understood σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις above as referring to the hoplites alone, the original number of whom was 10,400 according to the statement given in I. 7. 10. From the same passage we find that the rest of the troops under arms amounted to 2,500, thus raising the combined total to 12,900, a number too large to be referred to in the phrase ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, at any rate in a passage where we may fairly expect the author to have been precise in his language.

εἴ τις νόσῳ] *sub.* ἀπώλετο, with which Kühner compares in Latin *et si quis morbo* (perit) and similar phrases. The expression is characteristic of the Greek language in which acknowledged facts are often stated in a hypothetical form, even when there is no suggestion, as there is in the present instance, of a limited application. 'The remainder died in battle or from the effects of the snow, and *some few perhaps* from disease.'

§§ 4—end. *The prisoners are sold and the proceeds divided, a portion being reserved for a thank-offering to Apollo and Artemis. An account by anticipation of Xenophon's exile at Scillus, and of the uses to which he applied his share of the prize-money.*

τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμ. ἀργ. γεν.] 'the money which arose from the sale of the captives.' Students will observe the position of the sub-

stantive ἀργύριον which by a common idiom is made to precede the participle, a completeness being thus given to the combined phrase which could not have been obtained by closing it with a substantive.

(καὶ) διέλαβον] Three good mss which Kühner follows retain the καὶ, and, if we accept this reading, we must take the verbs ἐξείλον...καὶ διέλαβον in close connexion, making the accusative δεκάτην depend on διαλαμβάνουσι in the previous clause. There would be no valid objection to this reading and punctuation if it were not for the position of the words καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι. As it is, the connexion of ἐξείλον...καὶ διέλαβον is made so awkward by their insertion that I have not hesitated to omit the καὶ with the majority of the editors, regarding the accusative δεκάτην as dependent on the verb διέλαβον.

Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος] who, as we gather from v. 6. 36, had been his ὑποστρατηγός.

Asines was a town on the coast of Laconia.

§ 5. τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπολλῶνος] *sub.* μέρος, as the corresponding phrase τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος which follows clearly shows. It is not equally plain, however, how the words are governed, whether by ποιησάμενος ‘caused an offering to be made out of the share due to Apollo,’ or, as is less probable, by ἀνατίθηναι ‘dedicates the share due unto Apollo, having caused an offering to be made.’

τὸν...τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν] These private treasures, which might be secured either by a nation or an individual, are noticed by Herodotus and also by Strabo (ix. p. 420).

§ 6. τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδὸν] In allusion to the expedition which Agesilaus in conjunction with the Thebans undertook against the Athenians, and which culminated in the fight at Coronea, B. C. 394.

Μεγαβύζῳ] This, as may be gathered from Lucian and other writers, was the common title of the priests and guardians of Diana's temple at Ephesus.

The words μετὰ Ἀγησιλάου ἐν Κορωνείᾳ are, as Kühner points out, an evident interpolation, if only from the fact that at the period to which Xenophon is referring it would have been impossible for him to forecast the battle of Coronea.

ἣν δέ τι πάθῃ] A euphemism for ἣν ἀποθάνῃ. Except in the case of the three leading mss εἰ δέ τι πάθῃ is the recognised reading of the sentence, though Kühner rightly rejects it, as the usual distinction between the subjunctive and the optative would be perfectly out of place in a passage like the present.

ἀναθεῖναι ποιησάμενον] ‘to get some offering made with it which he thought would find favour with Artemis and dedicate it to her.’

§ 7. ἔφυγεν] I have not ventured to follow Kühner in deserting this reading (which is found in all but two of the mss) in favour of the more obvious tense ἔφευγεν. Moreover Thirlwall's defence of the text appears to me entirely satisfactory, who regards ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν κ.τ.λ. as equivalent in sense to ἐπεὶ φυγὰς ὧν κατώκει, the matter of the banishment being in his idea a merely incidental statement in connexion with the residence at Scillus and therefore naturally expressed by the aorist ἔφυγεν.

According to Diog. Laer. (II. § 51) Xenophon was banished ἐπὶ

Λακωνισμῶ, while the present passage might seem to imply that the immediate cause was his connexion with Agesilaus in the above-mentioned expedition to Boeotia. On the other hand if we accept the statement of Pausanias (v. 6. 4), comparing with it Xenophon's own words in III. 1. 5 and VII. 7. 57, we shall probably agree with Thirlwall who finds the cause of his banishment in his attachment to the service of Cyrus. For a further notice of the subject, see commencement of Introd. i.

ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι] Scillus was in Elis near Olympia, where an estate had been assigned to Xenophon by the Lacedaemonians.

οἰκισθέντος] Kühner is no doubt right in retaining οἰκισθέντος with all the mss, though his objection to the emendation οἰκισθέντι on the ground that we know nothing of the colonization of Scillus by Lacedaemon is anything but forcible. Nor again am I able to accept his suggestion that οἰκισθέντος may refer to Xenophon and be an equivalent for κατοικισθέντος, a usage of which he quotes no other example. Consequently, retaining οἰκισθέντος in the text, I should prefer to understand it as referring to Scillus, the genitive absolute being introduced thus by a very common idiom when it is required to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement.

θεωρήσων] 'to be a spectator at the games.' By ὁ θεὸς Apollo is meant.

§ 8. καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δέ] For the position and force of δέ see note on καὶ πολλοὶ δέ (IV. 1. 13) and again on καὶ κλέψαι δέ (IV. 6. 13).

With θῆραι πάντων ὅποσα ... θηρία cf. VI. 3. 15 ἐκέλευε δὲ καλεῖν ἅπαντα, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνειεν καυσίμῳ, i.e. ἅπαντα καύσιμα κ.τ.λ.

§ 9. καὶ τό λοιπὸν δέ ἀεὶ] The adverb δέ is purposely placed in an ambiguous position, although the rhythm of the sentence suggests that it is to be connected with what precedes 'and so for all future time' rather than with δεκατεύων in the sense of 'on each occasion.'

οἱ ἀνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες] This position of the words, for which ἀνδρες οἱ καὶ γυναῖκες would have been more usual and also (considering the ambiguity caused by the previous nominatives) more natural, is illustrated by Kühner from Eur. *Heracl.* 455, and Hom. *Od.* IX. 75.

λάχος] is used poetically for μέρος as in VI. 1. 2, 'a share of the victims taken from the sacred pasture and of the hunted animals as well.'

§ 10. εἰς τὴν ἐορτήν] 'about the time of the feast,' on the analogy of εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν and similar phrases, though it is possible to understand the preposition as meaning simply 'to meet the requirements of the feast.'

καὶ ἀνδρες] i.e. adults, as contrasted with οἱ Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν.

Pholoe was the spur of a mountain range in Arcadia, closely overhanging Olympia, and according to Cramer identical with what is now known as *Mauro Bouni*.

§ 11. ᾗ] sc. τῇ ὁδῷ ᾗ, 'now it lies on the road by which men travel from Lacedaemon to Olympia.' The reading ἡ χώρα is retained by Kühner after the four leading mss in preference to ὁ τόπος which appears in the majority. At the same time he is inclined to agree with Bornemann who thinks that both the one substantive and the other are interpolations by copyists.

§ 12. ἄλλος] which is akin to the Lat. *salvus*, is an open expanse or glen, while ἡμερα δένδρα are *salivæ* or *feraces arbores*. The sentence which follows contains a good example of the σχῆμα κατὰ σύνεσιν or πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον, the phrase ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὠραία being accommodated to the idea of *fruits*, which is suggested but not expressed in the words ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφντεύθη. The explanation which limits the use of the word τρωκτὰ to such fruits as are eaten raw by way of dessert is due to a commentary by Perizonius on *Ælian* (V. H. 1. 31).

§ 13. παρὰ τὸν ναόν] This use of the preposition with an accusative in a passage where no idea of motion or extension is implied should be noticed as an irregularity on the part of the author. It may be fanciful to suggest that ἐστήκε παρὰ possibly represents some idea like the following 'was (brought and) placed by the chapel.'

With καταθεῖν supply χρή or some equivalent verb, which it is customary to omit in writing inscriptions, etc.

ἐκ τοῦ περίπτου] 'from the residue,' while ἐπισκευάζειν is to 'repair,' 'refit,' according to the regular use of the compound.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—10. On the arrival of the Greeks at the territory of the Mossynoeci one portion of the inhabitants attempts to stop their progress while the other concludes an alliance with them.

§ 2. τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκων ὁρίοις] The Mossynoeci, or Mossyni as Pliny styles them, were a tribe on the shores of the Euxine, situated between the *Tibareni* and the *Drilæ*, and their territory extended nearly seventy miles along the coast from the neighbourhood of *Trebisond* on the west as far as the district of *Pharmacia*. From VIII. 8. 25 we learn that they were independent of the Persian authority. It is said that they derived their name from μόσσυν 'a wooden tower,' owing to the character of their dwellings.

πρόξενον ὄντα] The duties of the *proxenus*, which it is the fashion to compare carelessly with those of a consul in modern times, will be found fully discussed in Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* under the word *hospitium*.

In addition to other essential points of difference, the *proxenus* was not a member of the nation whose interests he befriended, while as regards his place of residence and the primitive and unofficial character of his duties he had nothing in common with the consul of our times.

δῆξοιεν] 'they would not give them a passage.' This emendation of Jacobs is suggested by the reading δέησκειν which appears in one good MS, and is now generally accepted in place of διοίσκειν which is justly rejected by Poppo as a barbarous form. How constantly these verbs are interchanged in the MSS will be seen by referring to a note on the word διοίσουσιν in III. 2. 23.

§ 3. εἰσιν αὐτοῖς] Kühner follows three good MSS in reading πολέμιοι οὗτοί εἰσιν, but the introduction of the word αὐτοῖς is essential to the context, while his suggestion that οὔτοι is used in a *deictic* sense is

not I think borne out by the character of the passage. I have therefore without hesitation retained the ordinary reading with Bornemann.

οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα] 'the *Μοσσυνοὶ* who dwelt beyond them.'

εἰ βούλονται] '(to see) whether they were willing.' For this construction see note on ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐβλήσειαν... διέναι (IV. 1. 8), where I have quoted a still more striking example from Soph. *Antig.* 414.

§ 5. διασωθῆναι] Observe the force of the tense, 'to get safe through to Greece.' The MSS with the exception of four of the best give εἰς in place of πρὸς. The former is the preposition ordinarily used in this connexion, and the single instance to which Kühner appeals for his defence of the present combination (*Cyrop.* v. 4. 16, ἐσώζοντο πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον) is hardly a satisfactory vindication of the text, more especially as στρατόπεδον is virtually a noun of multitude.

§ 6. εἴ τίποτε] for which εἴ τι πῶποθ' is the ordinary reading, is adopted by Kühner after three MSS as the usual phrase when the proposition does not take a negative form.

ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους] We should naturally have expected ἔχειν in place of εἶναι, but the construction of the sentence is varied as if διαπράξεσθε or some other similar verb had preceded in place of the phrase ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν.

§ 7. αὐθις] The authority of two MSS, though of unquestionable weight, is scarcely sufficient to warrant Kühner in defying euphony by reading αὐ for αὐθις.

§ 9. τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι] A combination of two constructions, (i.) τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε, and (ii.) τί δεήσεσθε ἡμῖν χρήσασθαι, with which compare a very similar passage from Soph. *Trach.* 57,

...εἰ πατρός

νέμοι τιν' ὥραν τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν δοκεῖν,

and another from Soph. *Antig.* 490,

...τήνδε γὰρ

ἐπαιτιῶμαι τοῦδε βουλευσάι τάφον.

In the majority of these cases another and perhaps a simpler explanation is admissible, viz. to regard the infinitive as expegetical (e. g. τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε, ὥστε χρήσασθαι), but in the passage quoted above from the *Trachiniae* the addition of the article τοῦ with the infinitive δοκεῖν is a strong argument in favour of the former interpretation.

§ 10. ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα] 'from the further side,' corresponding to the expression οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα in § 3.

§§ 11—18. *Some of the Greek troops acting in concert with their new allies suffer a heavy loss.*

μονόξυλα] 'hollowed out of a single tree.'

§ 12. οἱ μὲν] 'the occupants of the boats,' while οἱ δὲ refers to the men who had landed.

ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα] 'in parties of nearly a hundred,' as in cases where the numeral is rendered indefinite by the addition of μάλιστα the estimate is usually overstated rather than the reverse. As regards the text of this passage I have adopted the reading of Dindorf, which appears in one of the MSS, and is suggested in another. It is also approved of by Kühner, who in his criticism on other proposed altera-

tions observes that the point of comparison does not lie in the numerical strength of the troops but in the position which they took up (*ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις*).

εἰκασμένα] *ἡκασμένα* Kühn., but, as he admits that the form given in the text is uniformly preferred by Xenophon and Thucydides, while only two of the MSS give a trace of the reading *ἡκασμένα*, I have preferred to follow the majority of the editors.

ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ξύλου] ‘behind (i.e. at the bottom of) the shaft itself.’ This reading and explanation is adopted by Kühner, but the expression *ὀπισθεν τοῦ ξύλου* is so strange a one that I am inclined to prefer Krüger’s rendering of the passage, who regards *τοῦ ξύλου* as a genitive of quality or material on the analogy of the phrase *γέρρα δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβύβια* which occurs in IV. 7. 22. If we accept this interpretation there can be no objection to our retaining the reading *αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου* which is found in the majority of the MSS. In either case the sense is clear, viz. that the butt end of the spear-handle was spherical instead of being fitted with the usual spike (*στύραξ* or *σανρώτηρ*).

§ 13. *ὑπὲρ γονάτων*] ‘short tunics not reaching so low as the knee.’ For the word *στρωματοδέσμων*, a sack for packing bed-clothes, cf. Arist. *Frugm.* 249, and the well-known passage in Plat. *Theæt.* § 84. The construction of the genitive, which Kühner regards as dependent on *χιτωνίσκους*, I should prefer to explain by the analogy of a corresponding passage in IV. 5. 25, *κίκται δ’ ἦσαν...τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος*, i.e. *ἦσαν τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ (στόμα) φρέατος*.

κρώβυλον] is explained by the scholiast on the *locus classicus* (Thuc. I. 6) as *εἶδος πλέγματος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπὸ ἐκατέρων, εἰς ὃν καταλήγον*.

ἐγγύτατα τιαροειδῇ] So Kühner with four good MSS, while the majority give *ἐγγυτάτω τιαροειδῇ*. Both the one phrase and the other appear to me to be vulgarisms, indefensible by any laws of grammar, and the editors are apparently driven to the same conclusion, as Zeune denies the possibility of *ἐγγύτατα* being used absolutely, while Kühner and Schneider make the same objection to *ἐγγυτάτω*.

§ 14. *ἐξῆρχε*] sc. *παιᾶνα*. The verb is particularly appropriate in consideration of the word *χοροὶ* above, the leader of the chorus being known technically as the *ἐξάρχος* or *κορυφαῖος*.

ᾄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ] ‘marched keeping time with their song.’ In most of the MSS the participle precedes the verb *ἐπορεύοντο*, while in either case it must be noticed that the words *ἐν ῥυθμῷ* refer as much to *ἐπορεύοντο* as to *ᾄδοντες*.

διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων] Kühner understands these words as a *hendiadys* ‘through the ranks of the Greeks who were drawn up under arms.’ There is nothing however to prevent our taking *ὄπλων* in the simpler sense of the ‘camp’ or ‘quarters’ of the troops.

§ 15. *τὸ ἀκρότατον*] ‘the highest ground in the territory of the *Mossynocci*.’ For the use of *ἀεὶ* in the sense of ‘from time to time,’ see note on *τὸ ὑπερβάλλον* (IV. 1. 7). The subject of *ἔφασαν* is the *Mossynocci* who were in alliance with the Greeks: ‘they said that its present holders were not entitled to the possession of it, but had seized it when it was common property for their own advantage.’

§ 16. *προσιόντων*] ‘while the foe was approaching.’

§ 17. νόμῳ τινὶ ᾄδοντες] 'singing to a kind of tune.'

§§ 19—29. *The troops are encouraged by an address from Xenophon, and on the following day make a successful attack on the citadel.*

§ 20. οἷσπερ] i.e. πολέμοι εἰσι (τούτοις) οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς (πολεμίους εἶναι) ἀνάγκη.

οἱ ἀμελήσαντες] is the reading of the five leading mss, while the rest give the participle ἀφροντιστήσαντες which Kühner thinks may be accounted for by the practice of substituting recondite words in place of more ordinary ones. He might also have added that the latter participle from the character of its formation is little likely to have suggested the need of a gloss like ἀμελήσαντες.

τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως] is not 'the discipline which prevails in our ranks,' as it is usually translated, but rather 'their post at our side,' in contrast with the words σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις which follow.

§ 22. ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους] See note on IV. 2. 11.

(ὀρθίων)] Kühner retains this word on the authority of three good mss. As a predicate its position in the sentence appears to me indefensible, and one of the best mss, I find, omits it altogether.

τοῦ στόματος] The genitive depends on ὑπολειπομένους, 'though falling a little short of the front line of the hoplites,' i.e. they were not perfectly on a level with the hoplites when viewed from the front.

§ 23. ἀνέστελλον] A poetical word, 'held in check.'

ἐτρέφθησαν] This rare form of the aorist occurs again in *Hell.* III. 4. 14, and expresses more clearly than ἐτρέπησαν would have done the forced and compulsory character of their flight.

§ 24. ἐδέξαντο...ἐμάχοντο...ἐτρέποντο] Observe in translating these successive changes of tense.

§ 25. ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι] 'having now at last joined all their forces.' For ἐκ χειρός, 'hand to hand,' cf. *Soph. Aἶ.* 27,

ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῖς ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις.

§ 26. φυλάττοντα] i.e. τὸ χωρίον (τὴν μητρόπολιν). Brunck's emendation φυλάττονσι, though sanctioned by Poppo, is rejected by Kühner as an endeavour to make Xenophon's narrative conform too precisely with the later accounts of Diodorus and Pomponius Mela, according to whom the king of the Mossynoeci was treated as a prisoner of state.

οὐδὲ οἱ] οὐδὲ ὁ is read by Bornemann, Macmichael and others on the authority of two good mss, but, as Kühner observes, no mention has been made of a second head of the tribe.

§ 27. πατρίους] i.e. *paternos*, Kühner, but, as I have mentioned in a note on III. 2. 16, I cannot altogether accept this rendering of the adjective. 'After the fashion of their people' is an equally satisfactory explanation, and certainly more in accordance with the regular usage of the word. The adjective *περυσινῶν*, which in some of the mss follows the word *πατρίους*, is omitted by all the best editors as a manifest interpolation.

ζεῖαι αἱ πλείσται] In this construction ἦσαν and αἱ πλείσται agree with the predicate ζεῖαι by attraction instead of with σίτος, the substantive to which they virtually refer.

§ 29. τὰ πλατέα] 'of the flat kind, having no division.' It is clear

from Salmasius that chestnuts are meant, the Latin name for which was derived from *Castana* in Thessaly, the first district in Greece where they were successfully cultivated.

τούτω καὶ πλείστῳ] 'this they used mainly for food.' The so-called emendation τούτοις καὶ πλείστον ὡς σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο is simply the paraphrase of an idiomatic sentence in an unidiomatic form, for, as in the case just noticed in § 27, τούτῳ is made by attraction to agree with σίτῳ instead of with its legitimate subject καρύοις.

§§ 30—end. *A description of the country and its inhabitants.*

παρήσαν] 'came to in their progress,' according to the regular use of the verb. The arrangement of the clauses which follow is somewhat unskilful, more especially as regards the position of the words τὰ εὐπροσodώτατα.

§ 31. ἀναβοώντων] This statement does not exclude the use of instruments to aid the voice, and, considering the nature of the ground, it is surely not impossible that people who were ten miles apart from each other by *road* might have made themselves heard across the valley. We might instance by way of illustration the well-known case of *Mounts Ebal* and *Gerizim*, which are separated by a valley across which the words of a reader are found to be distinctly audible.

§ 32. παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων] Kühner is no doubt right in regarding εὐδαιμόνων as equivalent to the Latin *beati* in the sense of 'rich.' It is not so clear however whether by παῖδας slaves are meant, or only the children of the wealthy classes. Kühner inclines to the latter view, but according to Diod. Sic. the practice would seem to have been a badge of servility.

ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια] 'tattooed with devices of flowers.' The phrase στίζειν ἀνθέμια is simply a modification of the cognate accusative στίζειν στίγμα, while, for the construction, compare in Greek δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην Σιντήματα (Soph. *Trach.* § 157), and in Latin the Vergilian phrase *inscripti nomina regum Flores* (*Ecl.* III. 106).

§ 34. ἔλεγον] 'were in the habit of saying.' The editors notice this as one of the frequent attempts made by Xenophon to conceal his authorship of the *Anabasis*. The paragraph ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν, which Kühner includes in brackets, is not found in three of the chief MSS, and moreover destroys the balance of the clauses.

διελέγοντό τε αὐτοῖς] 'they talked to themselves, and laughed at themselves, and would stand and dance whenever the fancy took them.'

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—6. *The Greeks pass through the country of the Chalybes, and arrive at Cotyora in the territory of the Tilareni, where they remain for five-and-forty days.*

ὀκτῶ σταθμοῖς] This statement, as in a similar instance (I. 2. 23), must be regarded as including the delay caused by fighting, negotiating, &c. no less than the time spent on the actual march.

εἰς Χάλυβας] These *Chalybes* were only a fragment of the nation already described in IV. 7. 15, and had been brought down from the mountain districts of Armenia to work the iron mines of the *Mossynoeci*.

Hamilton, when he visited the neighbourhood of Cotyora, found that the mines were still worked in a superficial way.

§ 2. *πεδυνωτέρα*] In accordance with this epithet the *Tibareni* are described as *πολύρρηγες*, 'rich in flocks,' by Apollonius Rhodius (II. 377). Observe the change from *ἐθύοντο* in § 2 to *καταθυσάντων* in § 3, and compare, amongst other passages, IV. 6. 27 for the difference of meaning between *θύειν* (act.) and *θύεσθαι* (midd.).

§ 3. *Κοτύωρα*] This town was replaced by *Pharnacia*, which according to Strabo was built out of its spoils. Hamilton and Col. Chesney have identified the site with a town called *Ordu*, where there are traces of an ancient port: Ainsworth, however, places it at *Per-shembah*.

§ 4. *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι*] i. e. in the neighbourhood or territory of Babylon. There are naturally slight discrepancies between this summary of the time spent on the *κατάβασις* and the more detailed account in the narrative. In the summary 122 marches are mentioned, in the narrative only 117, while, instead of eight months, only 208 days are accounted for in detail, or 223 if we include a halt of fifteen days at the villages in the plain (IV. 6) on the authority of Diod. Sic. XIV. 29.

§ 6. *ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας*] An inaccurate use of the title, which may have arisen from the fact that the district in question was subject to a Paphlagonian prince.

§§ 7—end. *The inhabitants of Sinope, in their alarm at the depredations committed by the troops, send a deputation to Xenophon. His conciliatory speech in reply.*

§ 8. *νικᾷτε*] which is the historic present, is found in two good MSS, and Kühner is undoubtedly right in adopting it in place of *ἐνικᾷτε*. The aorist *ἐνίκησατε* would be defensible, but the imperfect could hardly be justified in the present connexion.

§ 9. *ὑπῆρξαμεν*] *ὑπάρχειν* is to 'take the initiative.' Cf. II. 3. 23, *ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη*.

§ 10. *Κοτυωρίται δὲ οὗτοι*] Kühner calls attention to the idiom by which the article is omitted when the demonstrative pronoun is added to a proper name.

§ 11. *ἐνίοις*] 'per appositionem partitivam additum est,' Kühn., while *ὑμᾶς* is the anticipatory accusative referring to the troops as a whole. For similar instances cf. II. 1. 15, *οὗτοι μὲν, ᾧ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει*, and V. 6. 30, *ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἀποπλεῖν, τὸν δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

βίᾳ] which appears in five of the chief MSS is rejected by some of the editors as unnecessary with *οὐ πείθοντας*. But Kühner and Bornemann justify it as an emphatic phrase like *ἔκοντες οὐκ ἄκοντες* and many others.

§ 12. *ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ ἀξιούμεν*] 'now we protest against this.' Corylas, as we are told in VI. 1. 2, was at this time the ruler of Paphlagonia, and his name appears again in VII. 8. 24 in a list of the Persian authorities which is probably spurious.

§ 13. *ἡμεῖς δὲ*] This use of *δὲ* in answer to *ὑμεῖς μὲν λέγετε ταῦτα* or some similar thought in the mind of the speaker is noticed by Kühner as of frequent occurrence in the speeches of Xenophon.

§ 14. καὶ εἴ τις] The MSS as a rule give καὶ νῦν εἴ τις, and one καὶ μὴν εἴ τις, a reading which Kühner praises highly, but which is hardly in accordance with the simple style of Xenophon.

§ 17. Χαλδαίους] As Macmichael suggests, the *Armeno-Chalybes* (cf. IV. 7. 15) are probably meant, for the Χαλδαῖοι are only casually mentioned as mercenaries in IV. 3. 4, while according to Strabo the Chaldaei of his time were originally known as the Chalybes.

§ 18. Μάκρωνας δέ] Μάκρωνας δέ γε is read by the majority of the MSS, but in a passage like the present where no fresh contrast is introduced the adversative δέ is sufficient in itself without the addition of a strengthening particle.

τῶν ἐκείνων] ἐκείνων is of course dependent on the neuter τῶν. Cf. II. 5. 38 Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου, where the collocation is still more objectionable.

§ 19. ἀρμοστήν] ἀρμοστής properly denotes a governor sent out by the Lacedæmonians to their dependent states, though the term was afterwards adopted in the same connexion by the other Greek communities.

§ 20. παρελθόντας] ‘that some of our number entered the town.’

αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον] ‘we entered by that quarter of the city where the nature of the ground invited us.’ This is Kühner’s rendering of the passage on the analogy of νάπος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο (VI. 5. 31). Although it is not entirely satisfactory, it is the only one which is admissible if αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον is to be retained as part of the text. But the readings ἐδέχοντο and οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, between which the MSS are divided, suggest perhaps the following reading and interpretation: ἡ ἡμῶν ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὶ, τὸ χωρίον ταύτη εἰσελθόντες, ‘our entry was made after the fashion of *their* welcome,’ i.e. without permission being given or received.

κομίσασθαι] ‘that it may rest with us to take back our wounded.’

§ 22. ἡμεῖς δέ] A not uncommon use of δέ in the *apodosis*, ‘we on the other hand.’

καὶ φίλον ποιησόμεθα] ‘we will treat him as an actual friend.’ Ἡμῶν καὶ φίλον ποιήσομεν is the reading and punctuation of Kühner, which cannot however be regarded as satisfactory, for the rhythm of the sentence suggests irresistibly that ἡμῶν should be connected with δοκῇ, while the middle ποιήσεσθε has been used in the corresponding clause. If ποιησόμεθα be too violent a change from the MS reading ποιήσομεν, I should propose to understand the latter as suggesting the scheme which follows: ‘we will take measures to make the Paphlagonian an actual friend,’ a rendering which would account in some degree for the use of the active in place of the middle.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—10. On the following day the troops are assembled, and the ambassadors from Sinope are consulted as to the future course of the expedition. Hecatonymus points out the difficulties they would experience in a march through the country, and advises them to proceed by sea.

§ 1. παρακαλέσαντας] The participle is to be referred to the Greeks who are the main subject of the sentence.

(ἡγούμενοι)] This participle, which appears in the majority of the

MSS, is rightly rejected by Kühner as an interpolation. Students of Greek prose will observe the position which *ἄν* occupies in this and the following sentence though *εἶναι* is the verb to which it actually refers.

προσδεῖν] 'to need help *in addition* from the Sinopians.' I cannot but think that Kühner is wrong in regarding this compound as merely a stronger form of *δεῖν*, for without the aid of the Sinopians it lay beyond the power of the Greeks to provide themselves with a fleet. Besides which, *πρὸς* is not one of the prepositions which are ordinarily used to strengthen the force of a verb.

§ 2. *Ἑλλησι*] Had the author chosen to write *Ἑλλήνας* for *Ἑλλησι* the sentence would have presented no difficulty. Avoiding however the juxtaposition of the two accusatives, he has made the word *Ἑλλησι* depend rather on the idea contained in *εὖνους τε εἶναι καὶ... ξυμβουλεύειν* than on the verb *ἐχέσθαι* which in strict sequence it follows. Trans. 'And begged them, as Greeks dealing with Greeks, to inaugurate a kindly welcome thus, viz. by a show of friendliness and by advising them for the best.' The explanation suggested by Stephens, which makes the dative *Ἑλλησι* dependent on *ὄντας*, though it removes all the other difficulties of construction, is rejected by the majority of the editors owing to the unusual character of the phrase *Ἑλλήνας ὄντας Ἑλλησι*.

§ 3. *ἀπελογήσατο*] 'alleged in defence of his statement...that he did not make it as implying that his countrymen would oppose the Greeks.' For the construction *ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πολεμησύντων σφῶν*, cf. I. 3. 6, *ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν λόγος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς*, and notice in particular the ingenuity with which the mood is changed from the optative to the indicative (*αἰρήσονται*) when the speaker comes to the more certain of the two alternatives.

ᾧδε] Like *ἀεὶ* in v. 3. 9, *ᾧδε* is purposely placed where it may do duty with either verb, 'having made the following appeal to heaven he proceeded to this effect.'

§ 4. *ξυμβουλεύοιμι*] The mood hardly expresses the confidence we should expect in a speaker whose truthfulness is at stake.

ἡ ἱερὰ ξυμβουλὴ] In allusion to the proverb *ἱερὸν ἢ ξυμβουλὴ χρῆμα* (Plat. *Theag.* 122, B). 'For here before us we have in my idea a realisation of what the proverb styles *sacred counsel*.'

ἔσονται] which has been altered into *ἔσεσθε* by the majority of the editors, is retained by Kühner, who points out that only the Greeks who heard Hecatonymus would suffer from his dishonesty, while others would praise him supposing his advice proved successful.

§ 6. *πεδία κάλλιστα*] e. g. *Themiscyra* and *Gadilonitis* (Strabo XII. 546, 548).—*ὄρη ὑψηλότατα*, e. g. *Cytorus*.

§ 7. *εὐθὺς*] like *εὐθὺ* and *proleus*, 'as you go forward.'

τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερα] 'on either side of the road.' For the order of the words cf. Diod. Sic. IV. 74, *κατὰ τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τὴν νῦν ὀνομαζομένην Παφλαγονίαν*.

κρατεῖν] The infinitive is to be taken alone: 'by holding which even a very small number of troops may be masters of the situation.' Macmichael suggests that *κρατεῖν κατέχοντες* is equivalent to *κατὰ κράτος κατέχειν*, but the infinitive *διελθεῖν*, with which it is contrasted, leaves

no doubt as to the true meaning of κρατεῖν. Notice the force of the article in the phrase οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, 'all the men in the world.'

§ 8. καὶ νῦν] 'only the other day they did not present themselves at the king's command.' The allusion is to Corylas who at a later period, as we learn from Xenophon *Ages.* III. 4, openly espoused the cause of Agesilaus.

§ 9. τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι] Cf. IV. 6. 11, and the corresponding use of *subducere* in Latin e.g. in Pers. 1. 95.

τὸν Θερμώδοντα] The *Thermodon* and the *Iris* both rise in Pontus, and after a westerly and then a northerly course fall into the *Sinus Amisenus* on the Euxine. The *Parthenius* mentioned below forms the boundary between Paphlagonia and Bithynia, and discharges itself into the Euxine near *Amastris*.

§§ 11—14. *Though partially distrusting his advice, the Greeks determine to proceed by sea, if a sufficient number of vessels are forthcoming for the conveyance of the troops.*

τῆς Κορύλλας] For the objective genitive see note on οἱ αἰσχύνην Κύρου (III. 1. 10)

οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες] Observe the force of δ' οὖν : 'in any case (i.e. notwithstanding their suspicions) the Greeks determined to go by sea.'

§ 12. ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῶ] Kühner is the only editor of importance who attempts to defend the reading of the MSS ἱκανά, ὡς ἀριθμῶ ἕνα...μὴ καταλείπεσθαι. Had the words which follow been written in their usual sequence (μὴδ' ἕνα καταλείπεσθαι), the analogous phrase in Latin (*numero ne unius quidem*) would have gone far to justify this position of ἀριθμῶ in the sentence. As it is, the point of the comparison is lost, and the majority of the editors are right, I think, in treating the substantive as a part of the usual phrase ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῶ.

ἕνα μὴ] which is a more emphatic expression than μὴδ' ἕνα, may be illustrated by a precisely similar phrase in Thuc. II. 51, ἐν τε οὐδὲν κατέστη ἵαμα, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν.

ἡμεῖς ἂν πλείομεν] is read by four of the leading MSS, while the majority give ἡμεῖς δὲ πλείομεν ἂν, to which Kühner rightly objects on the ground that any such emphasis as would be given by δὲ in the *apodosis* is out of place in connexion with the pronoun ἡμεῖς.

§ 13. κρατῶμεν] 'are masters of the situation.' Cf. κρατεῖν in § 7. With the phrase ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρα 'in the position of slaves,' which is peculiar to Xenophon, compare the corresponding expressions ἐν οὐδεμῇα χώρα ἔσονται (V. 7. 28), and ἐν μισθοφόρου χώρα εἶναι (*Cyrus*. II. 1. 18).

§§ 15—18. *The intention of Xenophon to found a colony in the country is defeated by Silanus, a priest, who had been in the service of Cyrus.*

ἱκανοὺς] is here equivalent to δυνατοὺς, 'efficient,' 'in good condition.'

ἀπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων] 'where a force of the same magnitude could not have been provided (for the purpose) without a large expenditure.'

§ 16. ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'with this view.'

§ 18. παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε] The circumstances under which Silanus received this present from Cyrus are told in I. 7. 18.

§§ 19—26. *On the suggestion of Timasion and Thorax, the Sinopians and their neighbours offer money to the Greeks on condition of their speedy departure from the country. Settlements in the Troad or the Thracian Chersonese are proposed to them by Timasion and Thorax respectively.*

ἐξευποριοῦσι] In place of this verb the majority of the editors read ἐκποριοῦσι, objecting to ἐξευπορίζειν as a barbarous compound. But, in addition to the fact that the four chief MSS give ἐξευποριοῦσι in the present passage, the form is found in other writers where the reading cannot be questioned.

ὅτι...ὅτι] In VII. 4. 5, will be found a similar instance of the repetition of ὅτι after a parenthesis: ἔλεγεν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται καὶ πέλονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας.

§ 20. ὁρῶμεν ἡμᾶς ἀποροὺς ὄντας] Kühner notices the construction as supplying greater emphasis than the usual phrase ὁρῶμεν ἀποροὶ ὄντες. It is very questionable however whether the latter would have been admissible, as it does not follow that, because αἰσθανόμεθα ἀποροὶ ὄντες is a recognized idiom, therefore the verb ὁρᾶν can be used in the same connexion.

ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ] 'on the voyage.'

[ὥς] οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας] The word ὥς, which Kühner admits to be inexplicable, is nevertheless retained by Dindorf and himself on the authority of five leading MSS. All the other editors either omit or bracket it. There is at any rate no possibility of explaining it as a combination of two constructions which is the usual resort in similar cases (e. g. ᾗθειν ὅτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας in III. 1. 20), and, if it is to be retained as part of the text, we must understand it as giving its usual force to the participle ἀπελθόντας, 'on the supposition that we have left for home.'

εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε] As Kühner points out, the difficulties which have been discovered in this sentence by Schneider, Long and others are purely imaginary. The genitive τῆς κύκλω χώρας is clearly to be taken in a partitive sense after ἐκλεξάμενοι, while the indicative βούλεσθε by a very common idiom is followed (i) by the simple infinitive κατασχεῖν, and (ii) by an accusative and infinitive, τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα ἀπιέναι κ.τ.λ. The apodosis of the sentence commences with the words πλοῖα δέ. Reiske has needlessly undertaken to rewrite the passage by supplying ἔξεσται before τὸν μὲν, placing a colon at αὐτοῦ, and making the words πλοῖα δέ commence a new sentence.

§ 21. προστατεύσαι] 'to use his influence to effect the withdrawal of the troops.' With this construction of προστατεύσαι, which appears again in *Cyrop.* I. 2. 5, compare the analogous use of προξενεῖν in the Greek tragedians (e.g. *Soph. Oed. Col.* 465). The employment of ὅπως with the first aorist subjunctive ἐκπλεύσῃ should be particularly noticed by the student, as it is one of the many passages which disprove the canon laid down by Dawes that ὅπως is never joined to the subjunctive of the first aorist (act. or midd.). In the present instance no change to the future indicative is possible without a radical alteration in the form of the verb.

§ 22. τῶν στρατιωτῶν] 'of men who were soldiers.' With προσέχειν supply τὸν νοῦν, 'we must not turn our thoughts to staying in the country.'

§ 23. ἀπὸ νομηνίας] 'starting from the time of the new moon,' with which compare ἀπὸ τούτου του χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔτι τούτων ἐμέμνητο. The Cyzicene stater, like the δαρεικός, was equivalent to twenty silver drachmae of Attic money.

§ 24. τῆς Φαρναβάξου ἀρχῆς] This district, by which the satrapy of Dascylis is meant, contained the above-mentioned provinces, including Bithynia. Dercyllidas, who is mentioned below, had been the Lacedaemonian harmost at Abydos.

§ 25. ὥστε τῷ βουλομένῳ] The dative, for which we should naturally have expected τὸν βουλούμενον, is curious, and Weiske suggests that it depends on ἔσσεσθαι, which is to be supplied from the previous clause. This is at any rate better than Schneider's suggestion, who proposes to omit ὥστε without regard to the elegance or rhythm of the sentence. But Kühner's explanation, that τῷ βουλομένῳ is accommodated by a species of attraction to the case of αὐτοῖς, is undoubtedly the correct one.

In III. i. 43, we have already had occasion to notice the occurrence of the poetic verb μαστεύειν.

§ 26. μισθοφορίαν] which is found in three of the best MSS in place of μισθοφοράν, though equivalent to *opera mercenaria* rather than to *merces*, as Kühner points out, is often used indiscriminately with μισθοφορά in the latter sense. ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, 'on the understanding that they left the country by sea.'

§§ 27—33. *The conduct of Xenophon is called in question by Philisius and Lycon. His speech in reply.*

§ 28. ἀρχεσθαι λέγειν] For the use of the infinitive in place of the participle see note on III. i. 26.

§ 29. ὡς ἄρα γινώσκων] 'knowing, as he might well do.'

§ 30. ἀφ' οὗ ἂν γένοιτο] 'should have considered by what means it could be effected.' The change of mood from the indicatives ἐώρων and ἐσκόπουν to the optative with ἂν is noteworthy, but at the same time explicable, as the words ἂν γένοιτο do not point, as do the previous verbs, to conditions which are already impossible.

τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλούμενον] *sub.* ἀποπλεῖν τότε.

§ 31. σωζομένους] 'when we are safe in the place where we wish to be.'

ἐκέλευς τῆς διανοίας] in reference to his intention of founding a colony.

§ 32. κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης] 'if your forces are broken up piecemeal.' For this combination of a participle in the nominative with a genitive absolute compare a corresponding passage in I. i. 7, and for the circumstances under which ἂν may be repeated in the same sentence see note on IV. 6. 13.

ἀπαλλάξαιτε] 'so that you would not come off with impunity.' This intransitive use of the verb ἀπαλλάττειν in the sense of *abire* is common with the Greek tragedians, e. g. *Oed. Tyr.* 363.

§§ 34—end. *Objections are raised by Silanus to the proposals of Xenophon, but he is overruled by the majority. As the inhabitants of the country fail to supply the promised funds, Timasion and Thorax in alarm agitate for a change of route.*

εἰ λήψονται...ἐπιθῆσκειν] Observe this combination of the direct with the oblique narration, which presents an additional peculiarity in

the instance before us, as it is the conditional clause of the sentence (ἐλλήψονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα) which is here expressed in the direct form.

§ 35. τὰ δὲ χρήματα...τῆς μισθοφορίας] The best editors are agreed in making the genitive depend on χρήματα, comparing IV. 3. 1, where there is an instance of a similar trajection, ἀπείχε δὲ τῶν ὀρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς ἕξ ἡ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. On the other hand, Krüger and Hutchinson regard the words τῆς μισθοφορίας as an interpolation. It is possible, I think, to treat τὰ χρήματα as an anticipatory accusative, and, understanding μισθοφορίας in the sense of μισθοφορᾶς, to regard the genitive as dependent on ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν.

§ 36. ἀνεκεκύνωντο] For the distinction in sense between the active and middle of this verb see note on ἀνακύνονται (III. 1. 5).

εἰς Φᾶσιν] i. e. the *Colchian* Phasis, rising in Mount Caucasus, which must be carefully distinguished from the river of the same name mentioned earlier in IV. 6. 4.

§ 37. Αἰήτου] According to Strabo, Aetes had from mythical times been the regular patronymic of the kings of Colchis. As Krüger observes, the reigning prince must have been well known to the Greeks, since otherwise we should have expected a more precise description.

οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν] 'that he was against holding a public meeting,' while μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, which appears in all but the four best MSS, would signify 'voted that they *should not* hold a meeting.'

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—4. *Great discontent is caused amongst the troops by the report that Xenophon intends to lead them to the Phasis. Whereupon he calls a meeting in order to justify his conduct.*

[τὰ πραττόμενα] In this case I have preferred to follow Bornemann and Dindorf who object with good reason to the presence of the article in this position, while Kühner on the other hand retains it on the authority of three good MSS. So far as internal evidence goes, no objection can be raised to the reading οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο ταῦτα πραττόμενα which appears in the majority of the MSS, though it is naturally viewed with suspicion as an attempt to re-arrange the words in their natural order.

πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν] Either from misconception or with the deliberate intention of misleading the troops, Neon alludes to the *Phasis* as identical with the river of the same name mentioned in IV. 6. 4.

§ 2. κύκλοι] This word, with which compare the phrase κατὰ ξυστάσεις γίγνεσθαι (Thuc. VIII. 83), is equivalent to *coronae* and *circuli* in Latin.

φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μὴ ποιήσειαν] The construction is an ordinary one, and compare amongst other examples δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικείσονται (V. 2. 6), and Herod. I. 155, οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι. No mention has been made of this occurrence in the earlier portion of the narrative, but a full account of it is given afterwards in § 23 of the present book. Krüger considers that the omission was intentional on the part of the author, who would otherwise have been compelled to repeat himself. But

the words which follow (ὅσοι γὰρ μὴ κ.τ.λ.) contain in themselves all that is required by way of explanation, more especially as it was an occurrence which, but for the exigencies of his speech, Xenophon might have been well content to pass over in silence.

τοὺς ἀγορανόμους] These officers were appointed to regulate the sale of provisions in the soldiers' market, and in this capacity would correspond to the commissariat of modern times.

§ 3. ἀγορὰν] for ἐκκλησίαν, a sense in which it does not appear elsewhere in Xenophon. The usage is no doubt borrowed from Homer and the epic poets. It likewise appears in inscriptions, and once in Aeschines (*c. Ctes.* p. 421), where we have the phrase φυλῶν ἀγοράν.

§§ 5—33. *The speech of Xenophon, in which he describes the damage that would be caused to their comfort and reputation if they resorted to violent measures in dealing with the inhabitants.*

ὥς ἐγὼ ἄρα] Observe the ironical force of ἄρα, in allusion to the fact that it was the generals themselves who had originated the scheme.

φαίνωμαι ἀδικῶν] I cannot appreciate the reasons which have induced Kühner to read the infinitive on the authority of two MSS in preference to the participle, which is the more forcible phrase, and occurs moreover in the next clause. To imagine that a contrast is intended between the two constructions in point of sense is out of the question in dealing with a style so simple and unartificial as Xenophon's.

§ 6. ἔνθα μὲν ἀνίσχει] Schaefer, on the authority of some inferior MSS, proposes to reconstruct the sentence thus: ὥς ἡλῖος ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται μὲν ἐνταῦθα: ἔνθα δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν, a reading which Kühner naturally regards with suspicion as an attempt to make the clauses of the sentence exactly correspond.

§ 7. ἀλλὰ μὲν] = jam vero, 'then again.' The occurrence of the two forms βορέας and βορρᾶς in such close conjunction is remarkable, though both are used indiscriminately by the other Attic writers (e.g. in Thuc. II. 96, III. 4. 23 we have the uncontracted form, and in VI. 2, the contracted).

§ 8. ἐμβιβῶ] The Attic form of the future ἐμβιβάσω. 'But, you say, I shall take advantage of a calm when I wish to embark you.'

§ 9. ποιῶ δ'] 'I assume however, that, beguiled and tricked by me, you have reached the Phasis: let us assume further that we make a landing in the country.' In the phrase καὶ δὴ [καί] Kühner following three MSS would omit the second καί, and, had this been the leading clause in the sentence, no objection could have been raised to its omission. As it is, some word is required to connect this clause with the former, as otherwise the second assumption introduced by the phrase καὶ δὴ becomes exceedingly abrupt and awkward.

§ 10. τί γάρ;] A phrase which is often employed in hurried and energetic narration to bridge over the transition from one topic to another.

ἐγὼ τίνι] Krüger would retain the interrogative τίνι in this passage, justifying the position of the emphatic words ἐγὼ τίνι by a similar collocation in *Cyrop.* IV. 6. 8, σὺ ἡμῖν τί ἀντὶ τούτων ὑπηρετήσεις;

§ 11. ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἴεται ταῦτα] 'thinks that he could himself

be deceived by these schemes or that he could deceive another thereby.' The above is Kühner's rendering, who apparently regards the construction of ταῦτα as identical in both cases. But, considering how rarely an active verb is found with this construction, I should strongly prefer to understand ταῦτα in the second case as the direct subject to ἐξαπατῆσαι, while in the first Kühner is no doubt right in taking it as a cognate with ἐξαπατηθῆναι. Tr. 'that he could himself be deceived by these means, or that they could impose upon another.'

§ 12. ἄλῃς ἔχχτε] 'when you have satisfied yourselves on this point.' ἐπεισι] 'if it shall make head against us,' like *ingruere, invadere* in Latin. With ὑποδείκνυσιν we may supply ἔσεσθαι out of ἔσται.

§ 13. πάλιν ἔλθειν] 'came back again.' Dindorf and Kühner follow three good MSS in reading πάλιν ἀπῆλθον in place of πάλιν ἔλθειν. But I cannot consider this authority sufficient to justify the introduction of a construction which makes the word πάλιν superfluous, and the sentence ungrammatical. If there were overwhelming evidence in favour of the reading δοκοῦσι δέ μοι...ἀπῆλθον, it might of course be explained as (i) a combination of the two constructions ὡς δοκοῦσι δέ μοι...ἀπῆλθον, and δοκοῦσι δέ μοι...ἀπελθεῖν, or (ii) as a species of attraction by which δοκεῖ δέ μοι takes the form of δοκοῦσι δέ μοι. Kühner instances the following passage in V. 8. 22 as a case in point, οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους, in which however the phrase οἶμαι...εὐρήσετε is scarcely an example of the same irregularity.

§ 15. τόδε] which is omitted in the majority of the MSS and for which Krüger suggests τοῦτο, is defended by Kühner as having a *deictic* force.

οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι] A pregnant construction, of which we have had repeated examples. In the present instance it denotes that his friends who were on the water co-operated *from that quarter* with Clearetus who was on the shore.

§ 16. οἱ δέ τινες] 'some few of them.' Lit. 'the remainder who were few in number.'

§ 17. τῶν δὲ πλεόντων] In allusion to the party who in V. 4. 1 are described as ἐκ Κερασούντος κατὰ θάλατταν κομιζόμενοι.

§ 18. ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν] The entire passage is full of difficulties, which are for the most part removed if we are content to omit the words σφεῖς λέγειν on the authority of the four leading MSS. Kühner however prefers to regard them as genuine since no reasonable grounds can be suggested for their interpolation, and he illustrates the use of λέγειν for λέγοιεν in the oblique narration by a precisely similar passage in II. 2. 1, οὗτοι δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας...οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος. As regards the rest of the construction, ἔφασαν is of course parenthetical 'our informants told us' (in allusion to the previous words ὡς οἱ Κερασούντιοι λέγουσιν), while ὅτι...γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα depends on λέγειν. The only other point requiring explanation is the introduction of αὐτοὺς before θάπτειν, which we may either regard as redundant or as added for emphasis, 'ordering them of their own accord.' Translate the passage thus: 'When however, as our informants added, they had themselves explained that the scheme had not originated with the army as a whole,

the ambassadors were then well pleased, and intended to sail hither to tell us what had happened, at the same time ordering on their part that those interested in the matter should recover and bury the dead.' Τοὺς τοῦτου δεομένους is an unusual phrase in place of τοὺς προσηκόντας or some other similar expression.

§ 19. τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὰς ἑλ.] For the position of τινὰς see note on τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς (IV. 4. 9). In the majority of the MSS, with the exception however of the four leading ones, the nominative takes the place of the accusative throughout, a reading which no doubt originated in the attempt to make this clause of the sentence harmonize with the succeeding one where the author passes from the oblique to the direct narration.

§ 20. ταρείσαν] For this rare form of the optative, cf. ἀποτμηθείσαν in III. 4. 29.

§ 22. ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐωρακότες] 'as was natural since they had been spectators of the disaster at home.' The particle ἂν, to which Poppo takes exception, is quite in keeping with the passage, and the optative which it implies may be understood from either δέισαντες or ἀποχωροῦσι.

§ 26. τοὺτους τί δοκεῖτε;] 'what think ye of these men?' i. e. of their flight and conduct. Compare the familiar phrase *quid illum censens?* (Ter. Andr. V. 2. 12).

§ 27. οἱ πάντες] 'the main portion of the army.' Cf. οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι (V. 6. 7).

τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων] These words depend on the previous genitive τῶν λόγων.

§ 30. διεπράξαντο] 'have brought it to pass that we are the only men of all the Greeks for whom it is unsafe to enter Cerasus except with the protection of a strong force.' In place of ἀφικνεῖσθαι two of the leading MSS read ἀφικνήσθε. Both the one reading and the other may be defended, as in the former case it is easy to understand ἀφικνήσθε with the words ἂν μὴ σὺν ἰσχύϊ, and, in the latter, ἀφικνεῖσθαι with μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι.

ξὺν κηρυκίῳ] 'with a herald's wand,' equivalent to our 'flag of truce.'

§ 31. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς] Weiske is probably right, who justifies this ἀλλὰ by the negative idea which is implied in the previous question: 'no one, but we had in consequence to ask the Cerasuntians to bury them.'

δοξάτω ἑμῖν] 'let a decree be passed, so that, understanding this to be the order of the day, each of us may set a watch for his personal safety.' The words ἐρυμνὰ (ὑπερδέξια), which are beset with difficulties, strangely enough pass unnoticed by Kühner. If Krüger be right in suggesting that either ἐρυμνὰ or ὑπερδέξια is an interpolation, I should be strongly in favour of omitting the latter word, of which none of the editors offer an intelligible explanation, though it is used elsewhere in Xenophon as an equivalent apparently for ἐψηλά. The general meaning of the passage is sufficiently plain: 'if anarchy is to be the order of the day let each man look to himself and choose a strong position for his camp.'

§ 33. τοιαῦτα] It would have been scarcely necessary to mention that τοιαῦτα is to be taken with ἐξαμαρτάνοντες had not White and Macmichael joined it with τὰ μέγιστα in their translations.

ἐπαίνου] Had the construction been a regular one, the genitive ἐπαίνου would have been represented by ἐπαῖνον, the cognate accusative after ἐπαίνεσειν. As it is, it is attracted into the case of the relative οὗ. The majority of the MSS, with the exception of the two best, read ἂν after ἐπαίνεσειν, which Kühner is no doubt right in omitting, as the addition of ἂν would increase the probability of the result and thus weaken the force of the question.

§§ 34—end. *Resolutions are passed to authorise the punishment of future disobedience, and a court of inquiry is appointed to consider the conduct of the generals since the death of Cyrus.*

τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ] ‘at no time in the future.’ For the force of the genitive see note on πέντε ἡμερῶν (IV. 7. 20).

§ 35. καθαρμός] A lustration, to purify the army from the guilt caused by the murder of the three ambassadors.

CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1, 2. *The generals are brought to trial. Philesius and Xanthicles are fined twenty minae, and Sophacetus ten, while Xenophon himself is charged with having struck a soldier.*

διδόντων] ‘when the generals were put on their trial.’ The MSS vary in their readings, the majority giving διδόντες and the best διδόντων. I have explained at length the distinctive force of the genitive absolute in a note on οἰκισθέντος (V. 3. 7).

τῆς φυλακῆς] ‘for their negligent custody of the transport goods were fined twenty minae, the amount of the loss.’ For τῆς φυλακῆς in the sense of ‘non-protection’ compare in particular the following phrases: (i) ἐξ ἐμφανῶν καταστάσεως, ‘for non-production of available documents’ (Dem. πρὸς Νικοσ. 1251), and (ii) *de missione litterarum* (Cic. *ad Att.* 1. 5. 2), where *missione* is equivalent in sense to *intermissione*.

The words τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων refer to the transport goods mentioned as ἀγώγιμα in V. 1. 16.

§§ 3—end. *His defence and acquittal.*

ἀλλὰ μὲν] ‘well indeed!’ The phrase implies astonishment, like the corresponding expression *at vero*.

παρόν] ‘if it was not possible even to get a scent of wine.’ The expression was a proverbial one to judge from Athen. IV. p. 134, ἀπαντες ὀρχοῦντ’ εὐθύς, ἦν οἶνου μόνον ὁσμὴν ἴδωσιν. Kühner is no doubt right in reading παρόν for παρόντος with the best MSS, if only on the ground that any alteration would no doubt have been made in the opposite direction.

ἀπαγορευόντων] This use of the verb occurs again in I. 5. 3.

τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος] A proverbial expression, which appears in Luc. *Pseudolog.* 2 and *Piscat.* 34. Compare too Herod. IV. 129, where we have an apt illustration of this particular use of the proverb.

§ 4. ἐκ τίνος] A most unusual substitute for the ordinary phrase διὰ τί, which takes its place in the corresponding passage of § 12.

§ 7. τοιαύτη] It has been remarked above that Xenophon is not always careful to observe the recognised distinction in his use of the words τοιαύτη, τοιάδε and the like.

From the account which follows we gather that the man in question had acted as baggage-carrier for a portion of the troops, and that Xenophon had relieved him of this duty for the time being that he might be free to carry a wounded comrade.

§ 8. κατελείπετο] A strong imperfect 'was on the point of being left behind.'

§ 10. ὅποσα γε βούλεται] The editors are generally agreed in accepting the reading and interpretation of Muretus: *videtur sane quantum vult; nam ego quidem cum hinc non atqueam*, while Zeune retains σὺ δ' εἶπες ὅποσα γε ἐβούλου, which he understands as follows: 'your words were in accordance with your wishes.'

§ 11. καὶ γὰρ] 'why yes, we shall all of us die.' An ellipse must be understood to complete the construction: 'well said, for in truth we must all of us die.'

§ 12. ὀλίγας] *sub.* πληγὰς. The word is emphatic by position, 'fewer than he deserved.'

§ 13. σώζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει] 'were content to save their lives by our efforts, who had to march and fight at our posts.' There is no need to understand ἤρκει with Macmichael as equivalent to ἤρκει αὖν. Indeed he strangely misinterprets the entire passage when he refers the participles *ιόντων καὶ μαχομένων*, which are really explanatory of *ἡμᾶς*, to the same subject as *ὅσοις*. With the words *αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες* the sentence becomes irregular, as a nominative takes the place of the dative, which would have been the regular sequence in consideration of the construction *ὅσοις... ἤρκει* above. The author, however, by the commonest of idioms closes the sentence as though he had commenced it with the usual nominative and verb.

§ 14. κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς] 'I found that I rose and stretched my legs with difficulty.'

§ 15. ὅποτε ἴδοιμι] The optative is of course frequentative.

§ 16. παίουντο] Kühner is probably right in reading *παίουντο* for *παίοιτο* with the two chief MSS, the plural being often found after *ἄλλος* and *τις* when they are used in a collective or indefinite sense.

§ 17. καὶ γὰρ οὔν] He proceeds to justify his conduct by the results: 'in fact now that they are safe out of danger they have full power, you see, to get satisfaction for any wrong.'

μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον] Equivalent to οὕτω μέγα ἂν ἔπαθον, except that additional emphasis is given to the statement by the position of οὕτως.

§ 18. ὑπέχειν δίκην] Ironical: 'I am content to give such satisfaction as sons may claim from parents and schoolboys from their masters.'

§ 19. σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] 'thanks to the favour of Heaven.' The expression occurs repeatedly in Xenophon (e.g. in III. 1. 23, and again in III. 2. 8). For the omission of the participle in the phrase *ἐν εὐδία* (*ὄντας*), Kühner compares *Cyrop.* III. 3. 67, and *Dem. de Cor.* p. 298, 211.

§ 21. κατεδικάσατε] 'you gave sentence against them.' By this translation we retain the legitimate force of the compound which is lost in the rendering proposed by Kühner and Hutchinson: *vestro*

judicio declarastis. The argument used by Xenophon is something as follows: 'Your taking no part with them was, so far, a verdict in my favour: on the other hand their confidence was increased by your simply being passive in the matter.'

§ 23. ἀποδέδουκεν] The use of this perfect in a transitive sense should be noticed as unusual.

§ 24. τοῦτον τάναντία ποιήσετε] A very good MS gives τούτων for τοῦτον, a reading which, as Kühner remarks, would have required ᾶ in place of ἦ.

διδάσαι] In place of διδάσει all the MSS, with the exception of the two best, give δεσμεύουσι, which is condemned by Kühner as *apertum glossema*. The verb διδῆμι is Homeric and occurs in *Il.* λ. 105, and its introduction here is strictly characteristic of the author's style in which a rare or poetical word is so often used to set off a commonplace sentence.

§ 25. χεῖμῶνα ἐπεκούρησα] This use of ἐπικουρεῖν with an accusative of the object in place of the usual dative may be illustrated from Milton's *Comus* (line 845),

Helping all urchin blasts and ill-luck signs.

συνεξευπόρησα] συνεξεπόρισα Pors., but the reading of the text is certainly suggested in the four leading MSS, and is admirably defended by Kühner, who quotes the following examples of an active use of εὐπορεῖν, (i) Plat. *Legg.* XI. 133 ἐπικουρίαν ταῖς χρεῖαις ἐξευπορεῖν, and (ii) Dem. *contr. Phorm.* 962, χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν προσευπορηκώς.

§ 26. ἀνεμύνησκον] 'recounted them at length.'

περιεγένετο] 'and so it turned out that all went well,' though in the passage of Thuc. (II. 39) from which Kühner illustrates this use of περιγίγνεσθαι the force of the compound is rather as follows: 'we have *this balance in our favour*, that we are not troubled by the anticipation of coming disasters.'

NOTES.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

§§ 1—4. *In consequence of the unfriendly relations which prevail between the Greeks and the inhabitants of the country, Corylas, the governor of Paphlagonia, sends a deputation to the camp which meets with a hospitable reception.*

ἐκ τούτου δέ] It will be observed that the usual recapitulation, by which each of the earlier books has been prefaced, is here wanting. As it reappears, however, at the commencement of the viith Book, we may naturally infer that the one intended for this place was written but lost. It is true that, when we come to the third chapter, we find a few words of introduction prefixed to it. They do not, however, appear in four (or, by Dindorf's account, in five) of the leading MSS, and are moreover so evidently spurious that it is surprising that Muretus, Schneider and others should have found in them a reason for commencing the book at that point. We may notice in addition that Athenaeus (xi. p. 476 c) quotes the fourth section of the chapter before us as actually forming part of the Sixth Book.

εὖ μάλα] 'right well', the word μάλα being the intensifying adjunct, which is displaced for the purpose of additional emphasis. Cf. i. 5. 8, ἵεντο, ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρᾶνους γηλόφου. For the genitive νυκτός, see note on δέκα ἡμερῶν (i. 7. 18).

§ 2. τοὺς Ἕλληνας] The construction in full would be as follows: μήτ' ἀδικεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας μήτ' αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, but, by changing the order of the sentence, the emphasis is thrown on the important word Ἕλληνας, to which both clauses refer in sense though not in construction. It is difficult, as Kühner observes, to understand the objections raised by Schneider and Poppo to the position of the word αὐτός. It is forcible enough both in sense and rhythm, and gives character to a commonplace phrase.

§ 3. ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ] 'on terms of hospitality'. The force of the preposition in this and similar cases (see note on ἐπὶ γάμῳ, ii. 4. 8) is hardly in favour of the opinion advanced by Sturz (*Lex. Xen.* iii. 218) that with ξενία we are to understand the substantive τραπέζην.

δικαιοτάτους εἶναι] Subj. παρακαλεῖσθαι, which may be readily supplied from the preceding verb παρεκάλεσαν. For the phrase δικαιοτάτους

εἶναι in connexion with the infinitive, 'to be most entitled (to an invitation)', cf. *Sympos.* IV. 15. 113, and *Thuc.* I. 41.

§ 4. βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων] 'oxen of the number of those that had been captured'. For the genitive, cf. *Theophr. Char.* (περὶ μικροφιλοτιμίας): Θουριακὰς τῶν στοργγύλων ληκύθους καὶ βακτηρίας τῶν σκολιῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος.

ἐν σκίμποσιν] 'on truckle-beds'. To judge from *Plat. Protag.* 310 C, and repeated allusions in *Aristoph. Nub.* 254, 709, etc., it would appear that these couches were particularly affected by students, ascetics and the like.

§§ 5—13. *At the close of the banquet the Greeks perform their national dances for the entertainment of their guests.*

σπονδαὶ τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν] It appears from *Sympos.* II. 1 and other passages that the singing of the paean formed the regular accompaniment to this preliminary libation. Observe the alteration in tense from ὠρχήσαντο, which denotes the general character of the action, to ἤλλοντο and ἐχρῶντο, which mark the successive changes through which it passed.

πεπληγέναι] 'so that every one fancied he had wounded his man'. The reading ὡς πᾶσιν ἐδίδκει is supported by the two leading MSS, and preferred by Kühner, Vollbrecht and all the best editors. Add to which, the alternative reading (ὡς πᾶσι δοκεῖν) necessitates our understanding πεπληγέναι in an intransitive sense, a usage which at the best Attic period was entirely confined to the poets.

τεχνικῶς πως] 'by some clever device'.

§ 6. ᾄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν] 'singing the Sitalcas-song'. A short account of this Thracian king will be found in *Thuc.* II. 29. In illustration of the phrase, we may compare ᾄδων τὸν Κριόν (*Aristoph. Nub.* 1356), and τὸν Ἀρμύδιον ᾄσεται (*Achar.* 980).

§ 7. τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην] This dance, it would seem from the context, was intended to represent the struggle between a labouring man and a robber, and must have been derived from the times when, according to *Thuc.* I. 6, ξυνήθη τὴν διαίταν μεθ' ὅπλων (οἱ Ἕλληνες) ἐποιήσαντο, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. The exact meaning of the term καρπαίαν is doubtful. It can scarcely be connected with καρπός (fruit), as the season suggested by the words σπείρει καὶ ξευγηλατεῖ is manifestly that of spring-time, nor does the description of the dance in any way imply that it was associated with the housing of the crops. Probably, Macmichael is right in deriving it from καρπός (a wrist) in the sense of a 'binding-dance', for which he compares the concluding words of the section. If so, we may instance the well-known δέσμιος ὕμνος, or 'binding-song' of the Furies (*Aesch. Eum.* 332), as a parallel form of expression.

§ 8. τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἦν] In the majority of the MSS these words are followed by ὅδε, the omission of which, though defended by Kühner and Vollbrecht, is not entirely satisfactory. It is true that our author is frequently abrupt in his method of introducing parenthetical and explanatory clauses, before which he usually omits the connecting particle (cf. I. I. 7, 9, I. 2. 17, II. I. 3, 6), but I can recall no single instance in which such abruptness is caused by the absence of the preliminary demonstrative.

προΐδεται] The employment of the middle form has raised a doubt whether προσίδη τε, which is found in a large number of the inferior MSS, should not be accepted as the true reading. But the middle is not unfrequently used in place of the active, more especially by the poets, when it is required to express a deeper interest in the action of the verb, e.g. in the following passage of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles (v. 306):

οὕτως ἐγὼ δέδοικα τάσδ' ὀρωμένην

and again in v. 909,

ἔκλαεν ἡ δύστηνος εἰσορωμένη.

ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν] 'keeping time to the pipe'.

δήσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει] Vollbrecht cuts the knot of this difficulty by bracketing the καί. But, apart from the fact that the MSS are unanimous for retaining it, it may be questioned whether its omission can be justified by the context, which clearly implies that the man is carried off in company with his team. I have therefore decided to retain it with Kühner, whether we accept his suggestion that the construction in full would be as follows: δήσας τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει, or prefer to regard the words τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει as an independent sentence, to which the participle δήσας bears only a general relation. This latter idiom is of frequent occurrence in Xenophon, and is suggested, I think, by the rhythm of the passage. Tr. 'The robber leads off the husbandman and his team after making all safe with bonds'.

παρὰ τοὺς βοῦς] The accusative in this case is justified by the verb ἐλαύνει. Other instances occur in which the combination is used by our author without any such idea of motion, for which see note on παρὰ in I. 2. 13, and again in v. 3. 13.

§ 9. μιμούμενος] Sturz in his Lexicon proposes to understand σχήματα or κινήσεις, an expedient which one is anxious to avoid except in cases of absolute necessity. Here, I think, the verb may fairly be taken absolutely in the general sense of 'acting', 'gesticulating'; but, if anything is to be supplied, I should certainly prefer to understand αὐτούς, sc. τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους.

ἐξεκυβίστα] Macmichael is silent as to the force of the preposition. The simple verb occurs in the *Iliad* in the account of the death of Cebryones (xvi. 745):

ὦ πόποι· ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὥς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ,

where it is further explained as follows:

ὁ δ' ἄρ', ἀρνευτήρι ἐοικώς,
κάππεσ' ἀπ' εὐεργέος δίφρου· λίπε δ' ὅστέα θυμός.

The compound form is found in much the same connexion in Eur. *Suppl.* 692,

δίφρων

ἐς κρῆτα πρὸς γῆν ἐκκυβιστώντων βία,

and again in Xen. *Conv.* II. 11, where, in describing a species of sword-dance, the author says of the performer: εἰς ταῦτα (sc. τὰ ξίφη) ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα. In this latter passage the verb apparently means no more than that the dancer 'turned somersaults in and out among the

swords'. Weiske, however, thinks that the contrast is between a *forward* and a *backward* leap. In the case before us, unless we are to regard the compound as merely a stronger form of the simple verb, there is good ground for supposing with Krüger that the passage originally stood as follows: ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα.

ὄψιν καλῆν] In the majority of the MSS the participle ἔχων is introduced between these words. But, independently of other reasons, its occurrence in the previous clause is an ample reason for omitting it here.

§ 10. ὤκλαξε] 'sank on his knees', in which sense the verb occurs in Soph. *Oed. Col.* 196. According to Zeune, who quotes from Pollux IV. 100, and Heliod. IV. 17, this gesture was the characteristic feature of the dance, and the one from which it received its name (ὄκλασμα).

§ 11. πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ρυθμὸν] This war-measure is mentioned in Aristoph. *Nub.* 651,

κατ' ἐνόπλιον, χῶποῖος αὖ κατὰ δάκτυλον,

and (according to the scholiast) was made up of a spondee, pyrrhic (˘), trochee and iambus. αὐλοῦμενοι, 'to the accompaniment of pipes'. We might have been tempted to take αὐλεῖσθαι in an active sense, but for a precisely similar passage quoted by Sturz from *Cynor.* IV. 5. 7, where the context leaves little room for doubt: οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ ἔπινον καὶ εὐωχοῦντο καὶ ἠυλοῦντο.

δεῖνὰ ἐποιῶντο] 'took it seriously to heart'. The phrase may include the outward manifestations of annoyance, a meaning which is more distinctly marked in the case of the active (δεῖνὰ ποιεῖν).

§ 12. ἐπὶ τούτοις] For the force of ἐπὶ both here and in the preceding section (ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ), see note on II. 2. 4, and II. 5. 41. In spite of Kühner's suggestion to the contrary I much prefer to treat the phrase as independent of ἐκπεπληγμένους.

Πυρρίχην] The Pyrrhic was another species of war-dance, accompanied like the former by music, in the course of which the performer pretended by turns to deal and parry blows. It is mentioned more than once by Aristophanes, e.g. in connexion with the phrase Πυρρίχην βλέπειν 'to look daggers' (*Av.* 1169), and in a passage of the *Ranae* (v. 153).

§ 13. αἱ τρεψάμεναι... βασιλέα] The facts, of which this is a highly coloured version, will be found in connexion with I. 10. 3.

§§ 14—16. *A treaty is concluded between the Greeks and Paphlagonians, after which the former proceed by sea along the coast and anchor at Harmene, a port of the Sinopians, where they are welcomed by the inhabitants. Here Cheirisophus joins them with a single ship, and invites them to take service under Anaxibius as soon as they are clear of the Black Sea.*

§ 15. εἰς Ἀρμίνην] A port situated about five miles to the eastward of *Sinope*. It was a place of little importance, in proof of which White instances the following proverb: ὅς ἐργον οὐκ εἶχεν, Ἀρμίνην ἐτείχισεν. On the contrary, *Sinope* (now *Sinub*), one of the earliest colonies of Miletus, was the most important city on the coast: noted, amongst other reasons, as the birthplace of Diogenes the Cynic, and Mithridates.

κεράμια] The κεράμιον contained about 9 English gallons, i.e. about $\frac{1}{4}$ less than the Attic *medimnus*.

§ 16. τριήρη ἔχων] The failure of the mission of Cheirisophus is noticed by Diodorus (XIV. 31) as follows: παρεγενήθη δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα Χειρίσσοφος, ὁ πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις ἀπεσταλμένος, ἀπρακτος.

ὅτι ἐπαινοίη...ὅτι ὑπισχνεῖτο] Kühner calls attention to the change of mood: of which many similar examples have been noticed in the earlier books (e.g. in I. 1. 2, 3, I. 2. 1, 20). As usual, the transition from the indirect to the direct narration marks the greater importance and reality of the concluding statement.

§§ 17—19. *Five days are spent at Harmene, during which, in the hope of strengthening their power, and of achieving some result worthy of the expedition, the Greeks offer the supreme command to Xenophon.*

εἰσέημι αὐτοὺς] ‘the thought was continually presenting itself’. The subjunctive ἀφίκωνται, though preferred by Vollbrecht, Kühner and the majority of the editors, is not found in three of the leading MSS, all of which point to ἀφικνοῦντο as the true reading. Either mood is capable of defence: the subjunctive, as Kühner suggests, by the analogy of the idioms παρασκευάζειν, ἐπιμελείσθαι ὅπως ἂν (for which see note on I. 1. 4), while the optative, which Macmichael still retains, is simply the ordinary equivalent for the Latin *quomodo possent*.

§ 18. ἐκ τῆς νικώσης] sc. γνώμης. Cf. Thuc. II. 12. The phrase occurs again in II. 12 of the present book, and is remarkable on account of the irregular use of the preposition, in place of which κατὰ with the accusative would have been the ordinary formula. ‘At the suggestion of the decisive vote’ would seem to be the special force intended by the preposition ἐκ.

§ 19. ἔκαστός (τις)] The indefinite τις is retained by Kühner, Macmichael and others, but omitted by Vollbrecht and Dindorf on the authority of the three leading MSS. The combination in itself is entirely unobjectionable, but is out of place, I think, in this connexion, where the special mention of the λοχαγοὶ and the precise form of the statement is in no way suggestive of vagueness or ambiguity.

ἐπειθεν] Observe the force of the imperfect: ‘endeavoured to persuade him’. It is strange that the phrase ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν, which does not occur elsewhere, should have escaped the notice of the commentators. The primary idea is clearly that of ‘putting the shoulders’ to a task, and so to ‘undertake’ it.

§§ 20—24. *Being in doubt whether or no he shall accept the offer, Xenophon sacrifices to Zeus. The result determines him to decline the command.*

γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους] The reading of this passage is open to considerable doubt. The text I have adopted is that of Kühner and Dindorf, which is supported by the authority of the four best MSS. On the other hand, Vollbrecht, Weiske, Macmichael and other editors of note follow the bulk of the MSS by inserting καὶ after γίγνεσθαι, the words πρὸς τοὺς φίλους being taken in connexion with the ensuing clause. Where authorities are thus divided, our best guide will be the internal evidence supplied by the passage itself, and this, I think, is almost decisive in favour of Kühner’s reading: for, in point of grammatical con-

struction, the phrase *πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν* is awkward and cumbrous: while the antithesis which is clearly intended between *πρὸς τοὺς φίλους* (his friends in the camp) and *εἰς τὴν πόλιν* (the public at home) is distinctly weakened if we confine it to a single clause.

τυχόν] an accusative absolute: 'if it so happened', i.e. perchance.

§ 21. ὅπη τὸ μέλλον ἔξει] 'how the future will turn out'. For the change of mood from *ἐνθυμοῖτο* to *ἔξει*, see note on *ὑπισχνεῖτο* in § 16.

καὶ τὴν προειργασμένην δόξαν ἀποβαλεῖν] So Kühner and all the leading editors in place of *μὴ καὶ τὴν προειρ. δόξ. ἀποβάλοι*, which has all the appearance of a gloss, though it is found in all but the three best MSS. I am more in doubt about the *καὶ* which precedes *κίνδυνος*. It reads awkwardly in connexion with the following *καὶ*, and is moreover omitted in all the MSS with the exception of four.

§ 22. *διαπορουμένῳ...διακρίναι*] These words are to be taken in combination: 'being still at a loss how to decide'. There is some doubt as to the precise force of *διὰ* in the compound. It may be intended, as usual, to denote a *divided* opinion: or it may simply suggest *continuance* (as in *διατελεῖν*). The latter is the more forcible rendering in the present connexion owing to the juxtaposition of the verb *διακρίναι*.

ἀνακοινῶσαι] 'to lay it before Heaven'. Kühner renders it by '*consulere deos*', which is not, however, directly expressed by the active. Cf. III. I. 5, where the two phrases appear in striking contrast: (i) *ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει* (he 'takes the opinion of' Socrates), and (ii) *ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ*, the expression before us.

ἐθύετο] For the force of the middle, see note on *θύσαντες* (IV. 6. 27). The meaning of *μαντευτὸς* is simply as follows: 'who was suggested to him by an oracle at Delphi', and the explanation that it stands for *ὥπερ θύειν αὐτῷ μαντευτὸν ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν*, which is adopted by Macmichael and others, appears to me needlessly complicated. The occasion and circumstances under which he received this response are described in connexion with III. I. 6.

καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ...ὁ εἶδεν] The *δὴ* is equivalent to *adeo* or *profecto*: 'and in fact the dream which he saw at the time when he began to undertake his share of the responsibilities of the campaign'. For the circumstances, cf. III. I. II.

§ 23. *ἐξ' Ἐφέσου* (δὲ)] If we are to retain *δὲ* with Kühner and the majority of the MSS, its force will be the same as in the phrases *καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν* (IV. I. 13), and *καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι* (IV. 6. 13). But it reads awkwardly in the present passage in connexion with the words *ἐξ' Ἐφέσου*, and I am glad to find that Vollbrecht has decided to omit it on the authority of two leading MSS.

δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον] 'screaming in the direction of the east'. Tokens from this quarter were regarded as favourable alike by Greeks and Romans; though to the latter, who faced the south when they were taking the auspices, they presented themselves as omens *from the left* (*sinistra*).

καθήμενον μέντοι] Compare the description of a similar portent in Aesch. *Pers.* (v. 209):

ὁ δ' (sc. ὁ αἰετὸς) οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας
παρείχε.

For ὥσπερ (in the clause which follows) Hutchinson proposes ὄνπερ, a conjecture which is noticed with approval by Kühner. The text, however, is easily defensible as an ordinary form of *anacoluthon*, the object of which was to relieve the sentence of a cumbrous succession of participles: καθήμενον μέντοι, καί, ὥσπερ ὁ μάντις προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, μέγαν...καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον κ.τ.λ. A very similar passage occurs in II. 5. 5, where the same change is made in the construction, and apparently from the same motives.

προπέμπων] 'when he was forwarding him on his way'. Cf. καθη-
μένω in the sentence which follows. This predicative sense, which
gives additional force to the participle, would be lost by the introduc-
tion of the article before προπέμπων, which Poppo regards as indis-
pensable.

οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸς] 'out of keeping with a private individual'. For the
significance of the eagle as an emblem of power and sovereignty, com-
pare in particular Aristoph. *Av.* 480:

οὐκ ἀποδώσει ταχέως ὁ Ζεὺς τὸ σκῆπτρον τῷ δρυκολάπτῃ;

and also *v.* 515,

ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων
αἰετὸν ὄρνιν ἔστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, βασιλεὺς ὦν.

ἔνδοξος] 'betokening fame, but fame not easily won'.

§§ 25—29. *An assembly is convened, at which the command of the
army is offered to Xenophon. The reasons which he assigns for declin-
ing it.*

ἐπιψηφίζοι] See note on *v.* I. 14.

§ 26. εἴπερ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι] Krüger proposes ἐπείπερ for εἴπερ on
the analogy of *Cyrus*. VII. 2. 10, καὶ σύ γε (χαῖρε), ἐπείπερ ἄνθρωποι γε
ἐσμέν ἀμφοτέροι. And, if we were dealing with a different author,
I should be inclined to accept the correction, since, in the best Attic
Greek, εἴπερ (as distinguished from εἶγε) always implies a measure of
doubt, because it states the case as an *assumption* and not as a *fact*. In
v. I. 4 (ὕμεις δέ, εἴπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, περιμένετε)—the passage quoted by
Kühner in defence of εἴπερ—the hypothetical form of the sentence is
distinctly apparent: 'if *I am to believe* that it is your wish to go by
sea'. But in the case before us, as there is no sign of a variant in the
MSS, I prefer to retain εἴπερ with the best editors, understanding it as
far as possible in its legitimate sense: 'I must be pleased at the honour
you propose for me, *on the supposition* that I have the feelings of
a man'.

Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρόντος] Cheirisophus.

τυγχάνειν] It will be observed that τυγχάνειν is not impersonal,
but depends on δοκεῖτε, which, as Kühner suggests, is to be supplied
out of the previous δοκεῖ. Tr. 'nay, you would, I think, be less likely
in consequence to obtain from them a favour'. The alternative explana-
tion, which understands ὑμᾶς μοι δοκεῖ before τυγχάνειν, is less neat and
scholarlike.

οὐ πᾶν τι] 'not at all'. For the forces of οὐ πᾶν, see note on I. 8. 14. In the present case, the addition of τι as an intensive leaves no doubt as to the meaning to be preferred.

§ 27. καὶ αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων, which may be understood κατὰ σύνεσιν from πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, i.e. πάντας τοὺς πολίτας. Besides dismantling their long walls, and surrendering all their vessels except twelve, they were required by the terms of the treaty Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται (*Hell.* II. 2. 20).

§ 28. ταῦτα ὁρῶν] 'accordingly I bear in mind the probability that I should be very soon brought to order, if, with these examples before me, I were to give them the impression that I had used an opportunity like the present for the disparagement of their dignity'. I can see no reason for removing the participial phrase ταῦτα ὁρῶν from its place in the subordinate clause, as Kühner does when he rearranges the sentence as follows: ταῦτα οὖν ἐγὼ ὁρῶν ἐκείνο ἐννοῶ μὴ κ.τ.λ. On the contrary, it gains distinctly in force if we connect it solely with εἰ... δοκῶν.

ἐννοῶ] In III. 5. 3 we find the middle employed in the same way, to denote a *fear* or *apprehension*: ἐννοοῦμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. The force of the verb σωφρονίζειν is admirably illustrated by the use of the corresponding substantive in Thuc. III. 65, σωφρονισταὶ δυντες τῆς γνώμης, 'taking upon us to school (i.e. reform) your politics'. The particle ἂν, which Porson proposes to omit as a repetition of the concluding syllable in λαν, is defensible in cases like the present, where a conditional clause is modified by the requirements of the oblique narration. Compare the two following passages, the former of which is quoted by Kühner: εἰ δέ τις αὐτὸ φοβούνται, μὴ ματαῖα ἂν γένοιτο ἡ κατασκευή (*de Vectig.* IV. 41), and similarly Soph. *Trach.* 164,

χρόνον προτάξας ὥς τρίμηνον ἡνίκ' ἂν
χώρας ἀπείη.

§ 29. τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν] Here again, as in III. I. 38, the sentiment recalls the *Antigone* of Sophocles, *vv.* 666—676,

ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν,
...τῶν δ' ὀρθομένων
σώζει τὰ πολλὰ σώμαθ' ἢ πειθαρχία.

§§ 30—end. After a short speech from Agasias which disposes of Xenophon's objections, the latter appeals to the will of Heaven as indicated in the recent sacrifice. Upon this Cheirisophus is chosen, who in a short and manly address accepts the responsibilities of the command.

ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη] The objections raised by Xenophon are in truth supremely ridiculous, more especially to those whom he has permitted to understand the real motives by which he was influenced. Nor does he better his position by appealing to the circumstances of the late sacrifice, the references to which are so unusually vague that we may be pardoned for doubting whether the result was quite in accordance with his wishes: supposing indeed that the ceremonial was actually performed. On the other hand, the conduct of Cheirisophus is straight-

forwardness itself, though he throws out some unkindly hints as to the true motives which had deterred Xenophon from accepting the command.

[ὥς) ὀργιούνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι] ‘since (in that case) the Lacedaemonians will be indignant even if persons meet at a dinner-party and do not choose a Lacedaemonian as master of the ceremonies’. It is only after most careful consideration that I have departed on this occasion from Kühner and Vollbrecht, both of whom have adopted *εἰ* for *ὥς* on the authority of a single MS—a reading which I should still regard as untenable if the arguments in its favour were many times stronger than they are. As it is, I can see no reason whatever for discrediting the ordinary text, which appears in the majority of the MSS, and is in perfect keeping with the context; while it supplies us with an easy clue in regard to the cause of the corruption. For, granting that the word *οὕτως* may have been displaced by accident, traces of which are apparent even in the best MSS, the substitution of *εἰ* for *ὥς* might naturally have followed. It is, at any rate, a less violent alteration than others which have been proposed in its place: e.g. the following, which is adopted by Macmichael: *ὅτι γελοῖον εἶναι οὕτως ἔχει, ὀργιούνται οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κ.τ.λ.* In addition to which, the latter reading would be an almost exact reproduction of a clause in the ensuing sentence.

συμποσίταρχον] = *magistrum* or *arbitrum bibendi*.

§ 31. *πλείονος ἐνδέον*] ‘that something more was required’, or, as Krüger expresses it, ‘*graviori rem aliqua ratione egere*’. The passage is an important one, if only for the light which it throws upon the character of Xenophon, and his conduct on similar occasions (e.g. III. 1. 12, 2. 9, etc.). I have therefore dwelt upon it at some length towards the close of the Introduction.

ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες] In a note on *ἀλλὰ ὥφελε ζῆν* (II. 1. 4) will be found other instances where *ἀλλὰ* is used with this adversative force in relation to a feeling not openly expressed, but existing in the mind of the speaker.

ἐμοί] The dative is preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht to the accusative, which appears in the three leading MSS, on the ground that it corresponds with *ὑμῖν* in the previous clause. But it reads awkwardly, if not ambiguously, in connexion with *ὑποστῆναι*, and I am inclined to think that Xenophon wrote *ἐμέ* in order to avoid this difficulty.

καί μοι] All the MSS, with the exception of the two best, give *ἐμοί*, which appears preferable at first sight owing to the false emphasis which is thrown on the enclitic by its place in the sentence. But, as Kühner points out, the emphasis is not a real one, for the word *καί* refers to the entire sentence and not to the pronoun in particular.

§ 32. *Δέξιππος ἡδὴ διέβαλλον*] The circumstances of his defection are related in V. 1. 15, though no special mention is made of his attempts to calumniate Xenophon. What little we know of the matter has been gathered by inference from III. 1. 47, where Timasion is elected to supply the place of Clearchus after the capture of the generals, and again from III. 2. 37, where he is chosen by Xenophon as his colleague for the protection of the rear-guard. From a comparison of

these passages it has been inferred that Xenophon was accused of favouring Timasion on account of the influence he possessed over the troops of Clearchus. But the reasons for the latter appointment (III. 2. 37) are stated in such clear terms (ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτεροι, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τιμασίῳν) that the theory, which is probable enough in itself, must be judged upon other grounds.

σιγάζοντος] 'though I strongly urged him to silence'. It is remarkable that in five of the best MSS the word σιγάζοντος is replaced by δοξάζοντος. Hesychius, however, notices that the former verb occurs in the *Anabasis*, while Schneider condemns as unclassical the use of δοξάζειν in the sense of the Latin *laudare*.

ὁ δέ] sc. ὁ Δέξιππος, while αὐτὸν of course refers to Xenophon.

§ 33. ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ] 'if we have a fair wind'. Cf. v. 7. 7, καὶ λέγετε, ὅταν ὁ βορρᾶς πνέη, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. This use of κατασχέιν in the sense of 'landing' or 'touching at a place' is recognised by Thucydides, Herodotus and the best authors. In Thuc. II. 25 we find the simple verb σχέιν employed in a somewhat similar sense.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—3. *On the next day the Greeks embark, and, following the line of the coast, arrive after a voyage of two days at Heraclea. The inhabitants welcome them with presents.*

παρὰ γῆν] The reading παρὰ τὴν γῆν is found in but one MS. I have therefore followed Kühner and Vollbrecht in omitting the article, though I am far from agreeing with the former authority who suggests that the phrases are convertible terms. On the contrary, the force of παρὰ γῆν is so distinctly general that it seems out of place in a description the language of which is unusually precise. If the authority of the MSS were one whit less decided in favour of the text, I should have inserted the article, as Macmichael has done.

τὴν τε Ἰασονίαν ἀκτὴν] In Macmichael's opinion, ἀκτὴν is used poetically for ἄκραν, and accordingly we find another editor proposing to read ἄκραν in its stead. But, in truth, the terms are not synonymous: the reference being to the broken line of coast which lies between *Cotyora* and *Sinope*, rather than to the particular headland. Indeed some of the editors have suggested that the true explanation of the geographical difficulty may be found in the theory that the Ἰασονία ἄκρα, which had been passed by the Greeks after leaving *Cotyora*, was an entirely different locality. But the best authorities either regard the present passage as an interpolation, and it certainly reads like one, or consider with Prof. Koch that our author's geography is at fault.

Ἡράκλειαν] The modern *Herakli*, while the *Lycus*, which is mentioned by Xenophon below, is still known as the *Kilij-su*, or Sword River, in significance, no doubt, of its dangerous floods.

§ 2. λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς] This is in accordance with the account of Apol. Rhod. II. 353—356. There is another and different legend which places the cave by which he descended in the neighbourhood of Cape Taenarum in Laconia. ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον, 'to fetch Cerberus', as in Aristoph. *Ran.* III.

τὰ σημεία...τὸ βάθος πλέον] The construction passes without comment from Kühner, though it is a remarkable instance of the σχῆμα κατὰ σύνεσιν, if, as is commonly supposed, the words τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια are added in reference to ὄρυγμα or some equivalent, the idea of which is contained in the previous clause. Another and, I think, a simpler method of explaining the construction is to regard the substantive καταβάσεως as an instance of the abstract used in place of the concrete: i.e. the 'way down which' Heracles went rather than the 'manner of his going'. For other examples of the idiom, see notes to III. 4. 20 and III. 5. 9.

§ 3. κεράμια] Cf. VI. I. 15.

§§ 4—8. *A council is held, at which it is determined to send ambassadors to Heraclea, to demand further supplies from the inhabitants. The names of Cheirisophus and Xenophon are proposed for election, but Lycon, Callimachus and Agasias are chosen in their stead as less likely to err in the direction of leniency. On receiving the information, the inhabitants ask time for deliberation, and, on obtaining it, immediately place their town in a state of siege.*

θαυμάζω...τῶν στρατηγῶν] 'I wonder at our generals'. The genitive is usually explained by treating the entire clause which follows (ὅτι οὐ πειρώνται κ.τ.λ.) as the object after θαυμάζω. Cf. *Mem.* III. 7. 8, θαυμάζω σου, εἰ, ἐκείνους...ῥαδίως χειρούμενος, τοῦτοις δὲ μηδένα τρόπον οἶει δυνήσεσθαι προσενεχθῆναι.

σιτηρέσιον] Synonymous with σιτάρκεια, i.e. the money allowed for their rations, which were seldom supplied in kind. Cf. *Aristoph. Pax*, 1182, τῷ δὲ σιτὶ οὐκ ἐώνητ'· οὐ γὰρ ἦδεν ἐξίων. On the other hand the word μισθός denotes the wages they received for actual service.

οὐ μὴ γένηται] 'will not amount to'. The constructions of οὐ μὴ have been fully explained in connexion with οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μένῃ (IV. 8. 13), and οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται (II. 2. 12). 'Provision for a three days' campaign' (σιτὶ ἡμερῶν τριῶν) was one of the standing orders to an army that was about to take the field. Accordingly, we find the following injunction given to the jurymen in *Aristoph. Eccl.* 243, ἡκειν ἔχοντας ἡμερῶν ὀργὴν τριῶν πονηράν.

ἐπισιτισάμενοι] The emphatic word: 'from which we can supply ourselves with provisions before proceeding on our way'. The Cyzicene stater has been estimated at the same value as the δαρεικός, i.e. as equivalent to about twenty silver drachmae of Attic money. If so, it is clear from a statement in v. 6. 23, where the private soldiers are offered a cyzicene per month, that the pay of the troops had fallen to the original sum for which they were engaged by Cyrus. Cf. I. 3. 21, ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιδύλιον πᾶσι δάσειν οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρεικά τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ. But, if this change had been made, it could scarcely have passed without notice, and there is therefore strong ground for believing with Larcher and others that the true value of the cyzicene was about a daric and a half (τρία ἡμιδαρεικά).

§ 5. μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους] sc. αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας. Kühner and Vollbrecht are clearly justified in omitting the words μηνὸς μισθόν, which follow the verb εἶπε in all the MSS with the exception of the

leading four. The passage quoted in the previous note from a speech by Timasion (v. 6. 23) was in all probability, as Kühner suggests, the ground-work for the interpolation.

ἡμῶν καθημένων] A very abrupt transition to the direct narration, in place of which we should certainly have expected σφῶν αὐτῶν, or even an accusative in apposition with ἐλομένους, as the subject of the participles is in both cases the same. Both changes were undoubtedly made for the purpose of giving increased emphasis to the words ἡμῶν καθημένων, 'ourselves the while remaining quiet', and the idiom may be illustrated by passages like the following: ὥσπερ τοῖς προτέροις... ἀναβάσι... καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων (I. 4. 12), and ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἥδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι (v. 3. 7). There is some difficulty in determining whether the participle καθημένων is to be understood in its general or restricted sense. The former is, I think, the more forcible, though Kühner and Krüger take the opposite view and render it thus: 'ourselves the while being seated in conclave'.

§ 6. ἔστι δ' οἱ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα] The singular ἔστι is preferred by Kühner, Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors, though it is difficult to account for their unanimity in its favour, as the reading is, at best, supported by only two MSS. Moreover, it is clear that our author frequently uses the plural in the same connexion (cf. *de re equestri*, III. 4, XI. 10, and *de venat.* III. 6, 10): and there is therefore little reason for crediting him with a doubtful construction in a case where the manuscripts are so distinctly in favour of the recognised idiom. It is true that Kühner defends the phrase ἔστιν οἱ as a classical one, notwithstanding the opinion of other leading authorities. But the instances which he quotes of its use are entirely confined to Xenophon: while his theory that the combination ἔστιν οἱ stands upon the same footing as ἔστιν ὧν, ἔστιν αἷς and similar phrases appears to me distinctly open to question.

ἀπεμάχοντο] 'fought off' is the English equivalent. ἀναγκάζειν may very possibly be used in its general acceptance, but, considering the juxtaposition of the verb διδοῖεν, I prefer to understand it in a technical sense as follows: 'not to levy requisitions upon a friendly city'. As the clause ὅτι μὴ ... διδοῖεν is only indirectly connected with ἀναγκάζειν, I cannot agree with Macmichael, who instances the passage as illustrating the use of ἀναγκάζειν with two accusatives on the analogy of *cogere* in Latin, and compares Verg. *Aen.* III. 56,

*auri sacra fames, quid non mortalia cogis
pectora?*

§ 7. δ' οὖν] See note on I. 2. 12.

ποιήσειαν] Kühner and Krüger have both adopted the aorist, while the future ποιήσοιεν is preferred by Dindorf and Vollbrecht and has the better manuscript authority. The internal evidence appears to me conclusive in favour of the text, for, by the employment of the imperfect ἔφασαν, the action of the verb is treated as already past. Kühner defends the optative on somewhat different grounds as denoting the necessity for immediate action.

§ 8. βουλευέσθαι] The context in this case appears to me to be

distinctly in favour of the future, which is adopted by Vollbrecht and Macmichael, and is in close accordance with the MSS, the majority of which fluctuate between *βουλεύσεσθαι* and *βουλεύσασθαι*. Kühner, however, prefers the indicative, and compares II. 3. 27, *ὕμᾱς δ' αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὥς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς*, κ.τ.λ., to which we might add II. 3. 23, *πορευόμεθα δ' οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ*, though some of the editors are in favour of reading *πορευόμεθα δ' ἄν*. The present passage, however, appears to me to stand on totally different grounds, and I question much whether *ἔφασαν βουλεύεσθαι* is defensible in place of *ἔφασαν βουλεύσεσθαι*. On the other hand, in a combination like *ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι* the present tense is peculiarly appropriate, not only in relation to *ὁμόσαι*, but as referring to an action, the course of which had been only temporarily suspended and was at once to be resumed.

εἴσω ἀνεσκεύασαν] To 'reconstruct' is perhaps the nearest equivalent we have for *ἀνασκευάζειν* in this connexion. The phrase, however, is a pregnant one, suggesting the additional processes of *packing* and *removing*. The distinctive character of the tenses which follow one another in close succession must be carefully noted in translating. The student should further compare II. 3. 21, where imperfects and aorists alternate in striking contrast throughout the entire section.

§§ 9—12. *The Arcadians and Achaeans, being indignant at the subordinate part assigned to them in these operations, break off from Cheirisophus and Xenophon and appoint their own officers.*

οἱ ταραξάντες ταῦτα] 'the authors of these disturbances'. The verb *συνίστασθαι*, like *coire* in Latin, denotes a seditious faction or coalition. It occurs in a similar sense in *Cyrop.* I. 1. 2, *ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἐπ' οὐδένας μᾶλλον συνίστανται ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦτους*, κ.τ.λ.

§ 10. *ἕνα Ἀθηναῖον*] Xenophon.

παρεχόμενον] Observe the force of the middle voice: 'though he had furnished on his part no contingent to their forces'. In the following sentence *σφῶν* is to be connected with *κατειργασμένων* rather than *σωτηρίαν*: 'and this too when it was they themselves who had achieved the safety of the troops'.

καὶ ἦν δέ] 'and indeed as a matter of fact'. See note on *καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ* (I. 1. 2). In the succeeding sentence the direct and indirect narrations are again curiously blended, the construction in the earlier portion suggesting that the sequence will be as follows: *καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι*, κ.τ.λ.

§ 11. *λοχαγούς...ἑαυτῶν*] Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors read *στρατηγούς* in place of *λοχαγούς*. On the other hand, Kühner retains the text on the authority of five leading MSS, and defends it by shewing that after the readjustment of the troops the terms came in fact to be synonymous (cf. VI. 4. 5, 6). In all probability, the source of the error was the substitution of *στρατηγούς* for *λοχαγούς* in the following section, where the context might seem to suggest the alteration; after which, its introduction into the corresponding paragraph would be only a matter of time.

§ 12. *ἐκ τῆς νικώσης*] Cf. VI. 1. 18. The order of the sentence is as follows: *ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ τοῦτους τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὃ τι δοκοίη ἐκ τῆς νικώσης*.

§§ 13—16. *An account of the causes which led to the reconstitution of the army in three divisions, one of which was commanded by Xenophon, another by Cheirisophus, while the third was composed of the Achaean and Arcadian contingents under the officers which they had recently elected.*

μετ' αὐτῶν] sc. the Achaean and Arcadian troops; but there is much to be said in favour of μετ' αὐτοῦ, the ingenious suggestion of Krüger, for it may be assumed that Xenophon would feel some compunction at parting with an old friend and colleague like Cheirisophus; while their recent conduct must for certain have embittered him against the Achaeans and Arcadians. Moreover, the force of the particle μέντοι is distinctly in favour of this view.

εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα] The promontory of Calpe is now known as *Kirpah* or *Kaifkan Adasi*. The self-interested advice of Neon was no doubt recommended to Xenophon by his own fears that provisions and plunder would fall short if the troops journeyed in company.

§ 14. αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται] So Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors in place of αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται which is preferred by Kühner, who somewhat arbitrarily adopts the reflexive in all cases without exception in which the pronoun stands between the article and substantive. The word αὐτοὶ refers of course to Neon and Cheirisophus.

ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ] It is by no means clear who is meant by the pronoun, though we may safely affirm that it does *not* refer to στρατεύουσι, as Schneider seems to imagine. Almost all the editors (including Vollbrecht, Zeune, Bornemann and Macmichael) understand it as alluding to Xenophon. I cannot at all acquiesce in this opinion, as the main subject in the previous paragraph has throughout been Neon, who, in the disgust felt by Cheirisophus at the turn of affairs, had clearly taken upon himself to make the necessary arrangements. Accordingly I understand αὐτῷ as referring to Neon rather than to Xenophon.

§ 15. ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν] This use of ἔτι is very clearly illustrated in a passage of Plato *Protag.* 310C: ἔτι μὲν ἐνεχείρησα εὐθὺς παρὰ σέ ἵεναι, ἔπειτά μοι λίαν πόρρω ἔδοξε τῶν νυκτῶν εἶναι.

τῷ Ἠγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ] It will be remembered that they sacrificed to the same deity when they had made good their passage through the Colchian territory (IV. 8. 25). For the force of κοινουμένῳ, see note on ἀνακοινῶσαι (VI. I. 22).

τοὺς παραμένοντας] 'the troops that held by him'. Compare the force of παρέμενον in II. 6. 2.

§ 16. πλείους ἢ τετρακισχίλιοι] The inferior MSS add the words καὶ πεντακόσιοι, which are strangely enough retained by Vollbrecht, although, by inserting them, he raises the number of the troops to 8640, which allows no margin for the losses they had met with on their way from *Cerasus*. If we accept Kühner's reading, which is based on the authority of the four leading MSS, we shall find that the entire strength of the army at the present time consisted of 8140 men, exclusive of a small body of cavalry. The student should compare with this two other passages (I. 2. 3, and V. 3. 3), which will enable him to obtain a good idea of the losses sustained by the troops at different stages of the

campaign. Since the last computation, which was made at *Cerasus* (v. 3. 3), we find a deficiency of 460 men, the majority of whom must have perished in the encounters with the *Mossynocci* (v. 4. 16), and in the affair of Clearetus (v. 7. 16).

§§ 17—end. *The three divisions of the army depart by different routes.* πλέουσιν ὅπως...λάβοιεν] The optative is justified by the fact that πλέουσιν is a historic tense. Cf. IV. 6. 1, τοῦτον...δίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως...ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι.

τῆς Θράκης] i.e. *Asiatic Thrace*: a name given to the country of the *Bithyni* (originally known as *Bebrycia*) in significance of the fact that a portion of them were immigrants, whose original home was on the banks of the Strymon in Thrace. Accordingly they are called the *Strymonians* by Herodotus (VII. 75). By the description given in VI. 4. 1, Asiatic Thrace extended from Byzantium to Heraclea.

§ 18. παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἦει] The reason for this is suggested in the words which follow, his feeble health necessitating the shortest and the easiest route.

§ 19. διὰ μεσογαίας] 'through the interior'. According to Ainsworth, Xenophon took this course in order to avoid the *Yailah Tagh*, a densely wooded range of hills, quite impassable for a body of troops, that lay between the shore and the central plains. From the nature of the country it is scarcely possible that he made for *Calpe* in a direct line, as Col. Chesney would seem to suggest. More probably, he commenced his journey by crossing the hills, being tempted by the hope of plunder which he looked for in the plains beyond.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. *A recapitulation, which is in all probability a spurious addition.*

ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον...εἴρηται] For the reasons which have induced the commentators to reject this paragraph as spurious, consult the first note on VI. 1. 1.

ἢ τε Σειρισόφου ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντός] The double genitive is exactly illustrated in the following passage of Soph. *Antig.* 929,

ἔτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνέμων αὐταὶ
ψυχῆς ῥίπαι τήνδε γ' ἔχουσιν,

the words ψυχῆς ῥίπαι 'passionate gusts' being taken in close combination, like ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντός in the present sentence.

§§ 2—9. *The Arcadian division makes a successful attack upon some Thracian villages. The inhabitants, however, rally their forces, and in their turn besiege the invaders, compelling them to come to terms.*

ἐκαστοὶ] See note on ἐκάστοις in I. 1. 6.

§ 3. συνεβάλοντο] 'they agreed, likewise, upon a hill'. Some few of the editors understand περιεβάλοντο to mean 'surrounded', a sense which is strictly within the compass of the verb, though it is scarcely forcible enough to suit the present context: ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον. Kühner is, therefore, to be followed, who renders it 'sibi compararunt', 'abstulerunt', on the analogy of a passage in *Cyrop.* III. 3. 23, τοῖς δὲ ἵπποις καταδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι περιεβάλοντο πολλὴν καὶ παντοίαν λεῖαν.

We may compare, in addition, a very common use of the aorist παραστήσασθαι.

§ 4. οἱ διαφεύγοντες] 'the fugitives', i.e. those who were making good their escape. Kühner is almost the only editor of note who retains this reading together with διέφευγον in the clause which follows: the majority of the commentators, including Dindorf, Schneider, Weiske and Vollbrecht, prefer διαφυγόντες and διέφυγον. In the case of the participle, the MSS are altogether in favour of the present, though they are by no means equally unanimous in regard to διέφευγον. Under these circumstances, I have determined to follow Kühner, as the reading διαφεύγοντες is to a certain extent borne out by the force of the compound. Add to which, our author shews a marked predilection for the present tense in other similar combinations. Cf. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλίσκομένων (I. 5. 2), τῶν δὲ πλεόντων ἔτι τινὲς (V. 7. 17) and the constantly recurring phrase οἱ ἀποσκεδαννίμενοι (I. 5. 6), τῶν ἀποσκεδαννυμένων (IV. 4. 9), etc.

εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον] i.e. λόφον εἰς ὃν δέοι πάντας ἀλίσσθαι (§ 3).

§ 5. ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας] For this sense of διάβασις, cf. κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν 'at the ford' (IV. 3. 17). In other cases where the substantive occurs (e.g. in II. 3. 10, III. 4. 20, III. 5. 9) the context leaves it open to us to treat it as an instance of the abstract for the concrete, or else to understand the word in its legitimate sense as denoting merely the 'mode or manner of crossing'.

τρέπονται] sc. οἱ Θρᾶκες. In I. 4. 5 we have a yet more remarkable change in the subject of the verb.

τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου] sc. τοῦ (λόχου) Ἡγησάνδρου. But the sentence is a carelessly constructed one owing to the cumbrous succession of genitives, and I am strongly inclined to relieve it by omitting altogether the words τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν, which have all the appearance of an explanation, added by some officious scribe.

§ 6. σὺν πράγμασιν... ἄνευ πραγμάτων] 'some easily: others with difficulty'. All the best editors adopt this interpretation, but I can find no other example which justifies so stilted a use of the phrase. To avoid the difficulty, it has been proposed to render πράγμασιν... πραγμάτων by 'baggage' or 'effects', which is certainly no improvement.

ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν] It is remarkable that all the MSS, with the exception of the three best, give the participle εὐτυχήσαντες in place of ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν. The form ἡτύχησαν, though it is found in one good MS, is rejected by Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael, as of doubtful authenticity in the writings of Xenophon.

§ 7. οἱ δὲ] sc. οἱ Θρᾶκες, οἱ πολέμιοι. The same ambiguity occurs again in § 8, where τῶν μὲν refers to the Greek troops, τῶν δὲ to the Thracians. The optative ἐπίοιεν is of course frequentative.

§ 9. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡμολόγητο αὐτοῖς] It is an open question whether ὡμολόγητο is to be taken impersonally, or with ἄλλα for the nominative: in all probability, the former is the correct explanation, i.e. 'on all other points they had come to an agreement'. Compare the impersonal use of *convenire* in Latin.

ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχετο] 'at this point there was a check'.

§§ 10—18. *The arrival of Cheirisophus at Calpe. During his progress through the interior of the country Xenophon is informed of the perilous position of the Arcadian troops, and at once determines to relieve them. His address to his followers.*

Ξενοφῶντι] This is commonly regarded as an instance of the dative absolute. Kühner, however, objects to the phrase as inaccurate, and suggests an explanation similar to that employed in treating of the ethic dative, i.e. that the person or persons in question have a certain interest and participation in the matter in hand. See note on αὐτῷ in I. 2. 3.

ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ] ‘if they had anywhere heard tidings of another army, consisting of Greek troops’. As Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael have agreed to retain ὄντος, which is supported moreover by the authority of two out of the three leading MSS, I have decided to follow them, though the addition reads awkwardly, and is by no means sufficiently justified by the well-known Thucydidean phrase to which Kühner refers us: ἐσῆλθον ἐς Πλάταιαν, οὔσαν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίδα (Thuc. II. 2). In the latter instance the participle represents a new and important condition, which could hardly have been stated otherwise than by a distinct subordinate clause.

§ 11. ἔλεγον] Observe the force of the tense, and cf. ἔλεγεν in I. 5. 11. In the clause which follows, the position of the word νῦν marks it as emphatic. Otherwise it would naturally have stood between ὅτι and πολιορκοῦνται.

§ 12. ἀπολοῦνται...εἶναι] For the change from the future to the present tense, see note on πορεύεσθαι (II. 3. 27).

§ 14. νῦν μὲν οὖν] There is no regular apodosis to this sentence, though the idea which was present in the mind of the speaker may be inferred from § 21, where the antithesis is actually completed: καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα φυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ... ὥς εἰς μάχην ἐπορεύοντο.

ὅσον] sc. προελθεῖν, which may easily be supplied from προελθόντες above. The word κáιρoς would seem to have seriously perplexed the commentators from the number of suggestions which have been made to explain it. Weiske understands it to mean that they were to continue the march till they began to feel exhausted: Krüger, till they could find a safe position for their encampment. It would be a simpler explanation than either to assume that they were to get as far as possible on their way before the usual supper-time.

ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς] ‘keeping us in view’.

§ 15. παρέπεμψε δὲ...καυσίμῳ] The introduction of this parenthesis, awkward as it undoubtedly is, need scarcely surprise us in Xenophon, except on the ground that he is still credited by some of his admirers with neatness and elegance of expression.

καθορῶν] For the peculiar significance of the compound, see note on κατιδεῖν (IV. 3. 11), as well as a similar use of the verb in I. 8. 26.

καίειν ἅπαντα, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμῳ] Cf. § 19, ἔκαιον πάντα, ὅσα καύσιμα ἔωρων. In I. 1. 5 we have an example of a similar construction: ὅστις δ’ ἀφικνοῖτο...πάντας οὕτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο.

§ 16. οὐδαμῶς] The combination of an adverb of rest with a verb of motion is especially frequent in poetry. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 40, κείνος δ' ὑπὸν Βέβηκεν οὐδέις οἶδε. It occurs again in § 23 of the present chapter, and for another example of the idiom, cf. ἐνθα...ἐσπεύδομεν (IV. 8. 14).

πολλῇ] sc. ὁδός.

εἰς Χρυσόπολιν] The modern *Scutari*, which stands over against Constantinople on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. The Turks call it *Uskudar*.

οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστιν...μένονσι δὲ αὐτοῦ] The irregularity in the antithesis has been accounted for in two ways; (1) by assuming that the *apodosis* in the mind of the speaker was to the following effect: εἰς Ἡράκλειαν δέ, ἐνθα πλοῖά ἐστι, πολλή ἐστιν ὁδὸς πάλιν ἀπιέναι, and (2) by regarding the entire sentence as a combination of two constructions, in one of which the parallel clauses would have been introduced by οὔτε...οὔτε (e.g. ἐκεῖ οὔτε πλοῖά ἐστι...οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια), and in the other by μὲν and δέ (e.g. ἐκεῖ ἀποπλευσομένοις μὲν οὐκ ἔστι πλοῖα...μένονσι δὲ κ.τ.λ.). Both explanations appear to me to be equally far-fetched. In its natural order the sentence would no doubt have stood as follows: ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστιν...οὔτε, εἰ μένομεν αὐτοῦ,...ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, but, whether for the sake of variety or emphasis, the second clause by a very common idiom is presented in a stronger form. I have already noticed many similar examples, e.g. the transposition of δύναμαι (II. 5. 4), and a passage in II. 1. 7.

§ 17. τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχουσιν] 'lend a helping hand in securing our preservation'. In the ensuing sentence the order of the words is as follows: ἀλλὰ χρὴ πορεύεσθαι, (οὔτω) παρασκευασμένους τὴν γνώμην ὡς κ.τ.λ.

§ 18. τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας] Compare the speeches of the Arcadians and Achaeans as they are given in VI. 2. 10. πλέον φρονεῖν is to be 'wiser' than your neighbours: while μείζον φρονεῖν, as Dindorf points out, denotes *pride* and *self-confidence*. The sentiment embodied in this section is a favourite one with our author, and was probably borrowed from the poets. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 280, *Al.* 127—133 etc.

τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχόμενους] Compare the phrase ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχεσθαι (Arist. *Vesp.* 846), where the reference is clearly to a form of dedication, very nearly equivalent to our grace before meat. It is difficult to avoid the inference that one of the objections raised by the Arcadians and Achaeans to the authority of Xenophon was his habit of deciding all questions of importance by the ordeal of sacrifice.

§§ 19—23. *The Greeks advance to the rescue of their countrymen, burning and destroying everything along the line of their march. On arriving at the hill in question they find it abandoned: the Thracians having decamped at nightfall, and the Arcadians at day-break on the following morning.*

ἐφ' ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν] Sub. σπείρεσθαι.

ἐπιπαρόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα] Cf. III. 4. 30, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαρόντες. The verb is more commonly used in a technical sense (e.g. in Thuc. IV. 94, and elsewhere) of a general 'visiting the ranks' of his troops either to inspect or address them.

καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ] sc. ἔκαιεν. For the combination of καὶ...δέ, see note on καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ (I. 1. 2). Kühner calls attention to the fact that ἡ στρατιὰ, which is here contrasted with οἱ ἵπποι and οἱ πελτασταί, must be regarded as equivalent to οἱ ὀπλίται. In *Caes. Bell. Gall.* III. 38 the same distinction is made between *exercitus* and *equitatus*. The employment of the present participle παραλειπομένῳ seems to need explanation. It may be only another instance of the peculiarity noticed in connexion with οἱ διαφεύγοντες (VI. 3. 4). More probably, however, it is used instead of a past tense to give additional reality to the scene.

καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ εἶναι] This clause explains the motive for the original order (§ 15): ἐκέλευε δὲ καίειν ἅπαντα, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμῳ.

§ 20. τά τε τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ ἑώρων...καὶ αὐτοὶ...πυρὰ ἔκαιον] The two clauses of the sentence are in strict correspondence, the paragraph which separates them (ἀπεῖχον δὲ ὡς τετταράκοντα σταδίων) being parenthetical.

§ 22. ἐλάνθανον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι] ‘found themselves unexpectedly upon the summit of the hill’. The same phrase occurs in the *de re erms.* IX. 3, ἐκ τοῦ βραδυτάτου ἀρχόμενον οὕτως αὐ εἰς τὸ θάπτον προάγειν (χρή), ὡς ἂν μάλιστα λανθάνοι αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὸ ταχὺ ἀφικνούμενος.

ἐπολιορκούντο] This use of the imperfect has been discussed in connexion with the reading ὠρῶντο (for ὠρμηντο) in I. 10. 1. In the present instance it throws back the action of the verb to the time when Xenophon received information of the blockade.

§ 23. ὅπου δέ] See note on οὐδαμοῦ (§ 16).

§§ 24—end. *On finding that the garrison had started in the direction of Calpe, Xenophon and his troops follow and overtake them. The reasons which had induced the Achaeans and Arcadians to abandon their stronghold.*

συμμιῖται...εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα] The construction is a pregnant one for ἐλθόντες εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμιῖται, and falls under the same category as those noticed in connexion with I. 1. 5, III. 6. 11, V. 2. 3 etc.

ἐπὶ Κάλπης] Only two MSS, but these the two best, give ἐπὶ Κάλπην in place of ἐπὶ Κάλπη. Both phrases are admissible, though the accusative, according to the well-known distinction between ἐπ’ οἶκον and ἐπ’ οἶκου, gives greater clearness and precision to the object that is in view.

§ 25. τῆς νυκτὸς] See note on σταθμῶν (II. 2. 11).

§ 26. ἐξῆκεν] Tr. ‘the time had elapsed’, in accordance with the special force of the verb ἤκειν (II. 1. 9). The compound occurs in *Soph. Antig.* 896,

κάτειμι, πρὶν μοι μοῖραν ἐξῆκειν βίου

while, similarly, the phrase μὴ ἀπολιπέσθαι ὑμῶν may be illustrated from *Soph. Eléc.* 1169,

τοῦ σοῦ θανοῦσα μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τάφον,

and, possibly, from *Trach.* 1275,

λείπου μηδὲ σύ, παρθέν', ἀπ' οἴκων,

where, however, the construction of the sentence is not entirely free from doubt.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—6. *The combined troops encamp along the sea-shore adjoining the harbour of Calpe. The situation and physical characteristics of the place are described.*

ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ] The substantive is probably borrowed from Homer, and occurs elsewhere in Xenophon. In Herodotus and the Ionic writers it is of common occurrence.

ἀρξαμένη δέ... ἐστίν] Cf. δυνάμενη ἦν in place of ἐδύνατο (II. 2. 13). The combination is in both cases more forcible than the simple verb: here more especially, where, in addition to the idea of *commencement*, we require the further notions of *extent* and *prolongation*.

μέχρι Ἡρακλείας] Kühner observes that the *district* of Heraclea is meant, not the *city*. At the present time the town of *Herakli* occupies only the south-west corner of the space covered by the ancient city. The construction εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι, 'on your right as you sail into the Euxine', may be illustrated from III. 5. 7, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάρους.

§ 2. εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου] The harbour of *Calpe* was situated about midway between the two cities, or about 700 stadia from each, though Arrian represents the distance as considerably greater.

ἀλλὰ Θράκες Βιθυννοί] Two slight difficulties occur in connexion with this reading: (i) whether the words ἀλλ' ἢ are to be substituted for ἀλλὰ on the authority of four inferior MSS, and (ii) whether the omission of the article before Βιθυννοί, no trace of which appears in the MSS, is capable of defence. As regards the former question, the manuscript authority is decisive in favour of the reading in the text: while the omission of the article is justified by Kühner on the analogy of the phrase πολῖται Ἀττικοί, which is used, like the one before us, when the reference is only to a *branch* or *fraction* of the nation. Similarly in English we have the terms *Anglo-Saxon*, *Anglo-Indian*, &c.

ἐκπίπτοντας] = *victos*, 'cast ashore' by shipwreck. In the majority of the MSS the word ἦ is inserted before the participle. Macmichael accordingly retains it, though it is omitted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the best German editors on the ground that the clauses are by no means of equal importance, ἐκπίπτοντας being unquestionably the emphatic word.

ἀλλως πως] sc. λάβωσι. The introduction of the accusative (τοὺς Ἑλληνας) at the close of the sentence is objected to by Muretus, but entirely without reason, as we have similar examples in III. 2. 23 (οἱ βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χώρα κ.τ.λ.) and elsewhere: while, in the case before us, the addition is peculiarly forcible as emphasizing the fact that they were treated the worse on account of their nationality.

§ 3. τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκον] According to Ainsworth, the chief headland is now called *Kaifkan Adasi*, the lesser one *Yalanji* (or *deceitful*) *Kaifkan*: while the mountain that rises over the town is the *Kaifkan Tagh*. As regards the formation of the sentence, the original nominative χωρίον is subsequently represented in its three divisions (τὸ μὲν...καθήκον, ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν and τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐχένος) by the construction known as *partitive apposition*, for which see note on οὔτοι... ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει (II. I. 15).

ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν] Krüger compares the term *ceruix*, which is used by Pliny (IV. 5) in describing the Isthmus of Corinth. The words τοῦ χωρίου read awkwardly, particularly when we consider the juxtaposition of χωρίον in the ensuing clause. Neither are they required for the sake of clearness, as they are a mere repetition of the leading substantive. The editors, however, do not appear to have objected to them, nor is there any sign in the MSS that they are to be regarded as an interpolation.

§ 4. τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν] An adverbial construction: though some of the editors, I am surprised to find, regard it as an accusative after ἔχων.

ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ χωρίου] A remarkable expression, the meaning of which, to judge from the use of the substantive in VII. 6. 42 (ἀπικμέν ἐντεύθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας), must be something as follows: 'a spring *which is commanded* by the stronghold'.

ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ] Ainsworth notices the fact that even at the present time the neighbourhood is rich in timber, insomuch that it is known by the inhabitants as *Aghaj Denizi*, or the 'sea of trees'. Xenophon's description of the locality is replete throughout with instances of careless writing, notably in the recurrence of this particular phrase (ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ) in two successive sentences, and in the declension of the substantive χωρίον through all its cases.

§ 5. (τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι)] These words are omitted without notice by Vollbrecht, and bracketed by Kühner and Bornemann as 'apertum glossema'. Add to which, they do not appear in the two leading MSS.

τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν] An accusative of extension, for which compare οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες (I. 2. 24). According to Krüger, the correct sequence of the clauses would have been as follows: εἰς μεσόγαιαν μὲν ἀνέκει...παρὰ θάλατταν δὲ παρήκει. The author's motive in changing the construction may, I think, be found in the fact that the substantive ὅρος is only indirectly the subject of the latter clause.

δασὺ πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ξύλοις] In this case the author reverts to the recognised construction of δασὺς with a dative: in II. 4. 14 it was followed by a genitive.

§§ 7, 8. *The troops decline to occupy the stronghold, suspecting their generals of a desire to colonise the spot.*

εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον] 'to the position which might have been converted, at pleasure, into a town': τὸ...γενόμενον being equivalent, as Kühner points out, to εἰς τοῦτο ὃ ἐγένετο ἂν πόλισμα. The same authority makes no comment on the unusual character of the construction, though it would be difficult to find a parallel for it in classical Greek. In *Hell.* VI. 5. 17 we have another instance in which the verb

στρατοπεδεύεσθαι is combined with a preposition of motion: ἔλαβε στρατοπεδευσάμενος εἰς τὸν ὀπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς. In both cases the construction is no doubt a pregnant one for ἐλθόντες εἰς τόπον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ. In the next clause we have the converse idiom: ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα.

§ 8. ἀρετῇ] in its widest sense: 'goodness'. By understanding it, as some of the editors have suggested, in the limited acceptation of 'generosity', 'liberality', a contrast is created which it is difficult to reconcile with the statement that the motives which influenced the adventurers were not those of pecuniary interest.

ἄνδρας] Indefinite, like *quosdam* in Latin: 'while some actually brought others in their train'.

πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν] 'were in very good case', 'were doing admirably well': the idea of pecuniary profit being only incidentally suggested.

§§ 9—11. *After burying their friends who had fallen in the late engagements, the troops assemble and decree that any future proposition for parting their forces shall be treated as a capital offence. The death of Cheirisophus from fever. His place is taken by Neon.*

τῆς εἰς ταῦτόν συνόδου] The genitive is dependent on the word ὑστέρα, which contains in itself the idea of comparison. There is no sign of corruption in the MSS, though Weiske not unreasonably objects to the diffuseness of the opening paragraph, for which τῇ δὲ ὑστέρα τῆς εἰς ταῦτόν συνόδου would unquestionably have been the simpler and more natural equivalent. Compare, however, *Cyr. op.* VIII. 3. 9, ἡνίκα δὲ ἡ ὑστεραία ἦκε.

ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο] The corresponding phrase occurs below in § 13, and θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ in VI. 6. 35.

τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐγένετο] The adjective καλὰ, which appears in the four leading MSS, is retained by Kühner, bracketed by Vollbrecht, and omitted altogether by Macmichael. That it is not essential to the construction is abundantly clear from its omission in other passages of the present book (e.g. VI. 4. 13, 19). However, in the case before us the manuscript authority clearly justifies Kühner in retaining it. For a full examination of the phrase in this and similar connexions, see note on II. 2. 3, *θυομένῳ ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ.*

ἐκάστους] 'in parties'. See note on II. 2. 17, and introduction. The phrase ἦσαν πεμπτᾶτοι recalls the well-known passage in St John's Gospel (xi. 39), *τεταρταῖος γὰρ ἔστι.* In reference to ἀναίρειν, Kühner notices the fact that the middle voice is generally preferred when the verb is used in this connexion. Τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν συννενεγκόντες is of course a condensed form of expression, like the one we have frequently referred to in I. 1. 5.

κειοτάφιον] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III. 304. In Thuc. II. 34, the chapter which precedes the funeral speech of Pericles, mention is made of another and very similar token of respect: μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται, ἑστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἳ ἂν μὴ εὐρέθωσιν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν. All the MSS, with the exception of the three leading ones, introduce the words καὶ πυρὰν μεγάλην before the final clause (καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθεσαν). Dindorf, however, is the only editor of note who retains them: the com-

bination of the *πυρὰ* with the *κενοτάφιον* being rejected as an incongruous one by all the other commentators, including Zeune, Kühner, Vollbrecht, Schneider and Macmichael.

§ 11. τοῦ λοιποῦ] For the genitive, see note on *σταθμῶν* (II. 2. 11).

κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι...τὸ στράτευμα] The substantive *στράτευμα* clearly refers to *ἀπιέναι* no less than to *εἶχε*; but in other respects the passage before us is a difficult one, as the phrase *κατὰ χώραν* admits of several interpretations, and it is not easy to determine whether the relative *ἥπερ* refers directly to *χώραν*, or whether some other substantive (e.g. *ὁδὸς* or *τάξις*) is to be supplied in connexion with it. That *κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι τὸ στράτευμα* can be an equivalent for *κατὰ τάξιν ἀπιέναι τὸ στράτευμα*, as the majority of the editors would seem to imply, appears to me extremely questionable. On the other hand, I can see no objection to our taking the words *κατὰ χώραν* independently, either in the sense of *κατὰ τὴν χώραν*, 'to start homewards *through the country*', or as a mere equivalent for *κατὰ γῆν*, an explanation which is in perfect accordance with the commencement of Xenophon's speech. In either case, *τάξει* (for *κατὰ τάξιν*) will have to be supplied before the relative, as there is no intimation that the Greeks had to commence their journey by retracing their steps; otherwise it would have been easy to connect the words *κατὰ χώραν ἥπερ πρέσθεν εἶχε* in the following sense: 'through the same country by which they had previously made their way'.

φάρμακον πίων πυρέττων] 'from a draught which he had taken during a fever'. Others have proposed to render it as follows: 'from a fever brought on by some poisonous draught'. But, if this had been the meaning, the word *πυρέττων* would naturally have followed *τετελευτήκει* as the more important of the two participles.

τὰ δ' ἐκείνου...παρέλαβε] He succeeded him apparently by virtue of his former office. Cf. v. 6. 36, *πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναιου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει*.

§§ 12—16. *Owing to the failure of supplies, Xenophon recommends an immediate removal from their present quarters, but, after repeated sacrifices, the omens are found unfavourable for commencing the journey. The troops in consequence begin to murmur, charging him with having induced the priest to make a false report for the furtherance of his own schemes.*

§ 15. *παραγγείλας παρῆναι*] Sub. *αὐτόν*, with which the following participle *συνθεασόμενον* is placed in agreement.

§§ 17—22. *It is proposed to send out a foraging expedition. Xenophon, however, declines to take the command, as the sacrifices, which are again and again repeated, still continue unfavourable.*

ξυνελθόντων] The pronoun is often omitted, when the context leaves no doubt as to the subject of the participle. Cf. *θυομένων* in the previous section, and *προϊόντων* in I. 2. 17.

§ 18. *ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ...ἤκουσά τινος...ὅτι*] To avoid the irregularity in the construction, Schaefer proposes to substitute *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ* in place of *ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ*, though the latter appears in all the MSS, nor is there the slightest trace of any variant. Moreover, the reading in the text may be easily explained as a combination of two constructions: (i) *ὥς γὰρ*

ἐγὼ ἤκουσά τινος, Κλέανδρος μέλλει ἥξειν, and (ii) ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤκουσά τινος ὅτι Κλ. μέλλει ἥξειν, other examples of which we have already had occasion to notice in connexion with v. 4. 9 and vi. 1. 23. The idiom is a common one, even with writers who are far more careful than Xenophon in the formation of their sentences. Compare, in particular, Soph. *Trach.* 394, and 1238.

ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής] For an account of the origin and duties of the office, see note on v. 5. 19. It is a singular fact that the article is omitted in every manuscript without exception, though the text reads awkwardly, and indeed ungrammatically, without it. Kühner ascribes its omission to the ignorance of some copyist, who imagined that the words ἐκ Βυζαντίου were to be taken in close connexion with ἥξειν.

§ 19. μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν] ‘unless the sacrifices should prove favourable’. The employment of οὐ would have negated the participle absolutely: on the other hand, the present combination implies that the negation is only a conditional one: in other words, that a conditional clause might be substituted in place of the participle.

§ 20. ἐκυκλοῦντο] The majority of the MSS give the singular, but the plural, which appears in three good MSS, and is preferred by Kühner and the best editors, is more forcible in a case where it is required to express the action of a large number of persons *taken individually*. Compare a still more striking example of the idiom in II. 1. 6, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον, ὅπως ἐδύνατο, ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ’ ἐχρῶντο κ.τ.λ.

§ 21. ἐν τῷ ἐρμυνῷ χωρίῳ] The stronghold of which an account was given in §§ 3—7.

§ 22. ὥς οὐδὲν δέον] For δέον Schneider proposes to read δέοι, but the participle is neater and more idiomatic. The construction is probably that of an accusative absolute, though the passage in II. 5. 22, with which Kühner compares it, is not entirely analogous owing to the omission of ὥς. Accordingly in the present instance some of the editors prefer to understand ἐστί.

βοῦς...ὑφ’ ἀμάξης] ‘oxen from under the wagon’. Similarly we have ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς in the passage of II. 1. 6, to which reference was made in the note on ἐκυκλοῦντο (§ 20). I am surprised to find that Macmichael follows Schneider, who—partly to ensure uniformity with a passage in § 25 and partly from a mistaken rendering of the words εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἶη—edits βοῦν in place of the plural, though the latter is supported by the authority of all the MSS. That a careful scholar like Schneider should have gone astray in so simple a phrase as εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἶη is in itself remarkable: still more so, that he should have proposed in consequence to alter a recognised reading. The theory by which he refers the pronoun τούτῳ directly to βοῦν would be untenable, even if the alteration which he advocates were admitted into the text.

προθυμεῖσθαι] is the reading of the MSS, and has been generally accepted by the editors, though Kühner notices with approval an ingenious conjecture by Bornemann, who proposes προθύεσθαι in the following sense: rogabat Cleanorem ut prius sacrificaret (sc. cogniturus) num in eo peccasset quod ista sacrificii praeludia neglexisset. The com-

pound προθέσθαι is found in Plat. *Crat.* 401 D, and at least twice in Euripides (*Ion* 805, and *Suppl.* 29), though in the two latter passages πρὸ is equivalent in sense to ὑπέρ rather than an adverb of time. On the assumption, however, that προθυμείσθαι is the true reading, the passage is usually explained as follows: 'Xenophon urged Cleanor to give all attention to the sacrifice on the chance that a favourable token might be obtained thereby'. I am myself inclined to give a totally different rendering to the verb προθυμείσθαι, considering how often it is used absolutely by the historians of campaigns in the technical sense of forwarding some military scheme. Taken thus, it will give peculiar force to the mention of Cleanor the Arcadian, who belonged to the party that were pressing for immediate action. Translate therefore as follows: 'Xenophon urged Cleanor to *get forward with his preparations*, on the chance that a favourable token might result from the proceedings'.

ἐγένοντο] ἐγένετο Vollbrecht, but the plural is retained by Kühner on the authority of four leading MSS, in which case the construction falls under the same category as ἦσαν τὰ βασίλεια (I. 2. 23), ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα (I. 4. 4), and other passages noticed in the introduction. The idiom is apparently employed when reference is made to a total which is composed of several distinct parts. For other explanations, see note on I. 2. 23. In the present instance the words τὰ ἱερά, which are added by Macmichael and some few of the editors, are rejected by Kühner as having evidently originated in some marginal gloss.

§§ 23—end. *A foraging party composed of two thousand men, headed by Neon, sallies forth for plunder. Attacked by the cavalry of Pharnabazus, he loses five hundred of his troops: the remainder take refuge on a hill, from which they are rescued by Xenophon. The combined forces pass the night under arms, expecting every moment a renewal of the attack.*

κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος] 'in the place of Cheirisophus'.

ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἐσομένου] The force of ὡς with the participle is explained in connexion with ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος (I. 1. 6). Whether in the word ἡγεμόνος Neon is referring enigmatically to himself, as Schneider and Macmichael would seem to imagine, or merely to the native guide (ἄνθρωπον Ἡρακλεώτην), which is the suggestion of Vollbrecht, is a point open to question. The latter, however, is the more probable alternative, owing to the form in which the statement is put and the employment of the word ἡγεμῶν in the same sense throughout the *Anabasis* (e.g. in IV. 6. 1, etc.).

§ 24. οἱ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς] Pharnabazus was in command of the north-western or Bithynian district, in other words of *Phrygia Minor*: the central or south-western satrapies having been amalgamated after the death of Cyrus and bestowed on Tissaphernes. The authority of Pharnabazus extended over *Bithynia*, *Hellespontis* and *Aeolia*.

μὴ ἐλθεῖν] The construction is fully explained in a note on τὸ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι (I. 3. 2).

§ 25. οἱ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν] The majority of the MSS give πεντήκοντα, for which all the best editors (including Kühner, Vollbrecht, Bornemann, Poppo and Macmichael) have substituted τριάκοντα on the

authority of three leading MSS. This reading is further confirmed by comparing the parallel passage of VII. 3. 46, which tells us that on an occasion similar to the present, when extra energy and activity were required, the age of the men selected was limited to thirty.

§ 26. τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνδράς] 'the survivors'. The phrase διὰ τῶν λασίων, which occurs later on in the section, is an adaptation apparently from the language of Homer. In this particular sense the use of the adjective in prose is confined to Xenophon, with whom both λάσιος and the kindred form δασύς are favourite words.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—4. *At daybreak on the following morning the Greeks retire to their stronghold, and secure themselves against an attack. A ship arrives from Heraclea with supplies and victims for sacrifice. The auspices being now reported as favourable, Xenophon leads forth a portion of the army: the remainder are left with Neon in charge of the citadel. Of these a considerable number follow in his wake, only those who had passed the age of forty-five being left for the protection of the camp.*

ἀπετάφρυσαν...ἀπεσταύρωσαν] For the force of these compounds, see a note on ἀποσκάπτει...ἀποτειχίζει in II. 4. 4.

§ 2. ἐθύετο ἐπεξόδια] Vollbrecht adopts the conjecture of Schneider (ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ in place of ἐπεξόδια). The alteration, however, is quite unnecessary, for, as Kühner points out, the parallel form of expression (τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι) is found in *Hell.* IV. 7. 2.

ὁ μάντις Ἀρηξίων] The position of the proper name implies that the individual himself was comparatively unknown, the emphasis being thrown on the word which describes his office. For the phrase τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται in the following section, see the note on ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῶ (IV. 2. 16).

§ 4. τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου] In determining the text our choice lies virtually between ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, which is edited by Macmichael and others on the authority of one good MS, and the reading which I have adopted in deference to Kühner and Vollbrecht, who follow two of the leading MSS which omit the article. For the more usual phrase (τῶν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ) the manuscript evidence is of the weakest possible kind. The expression ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου is no doubt a strange one, though formed on the analogy of such well-known phrases as ἐπὶ ξένης, ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίας etc. Kühner, however, quotes a parallel passage from *Plat. Legg.* 674 A, Καρχηδονίων νόμος μηδέποτε μηδένα ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γεύεσθαι οἶνον, as well as a second from *Arr. Ind.* XII. 3, though it is true that in both cases the allusion is a more general one than in the sentence before us.

ἀπέλιπον αὐτοὺς] The manuscript authority is decisive in favour of αὐτοὺς: Krüger, however, edits αὐτόν, which, together with τοῦτον in the preceding sentence, would of course apply to Neon. As regards the interpretation of the passage, I cannot but think that Kühner has committed a grave error in referring the nominatives λοχαγοὶ and στρατιῶται to the troops who had been left with Neon in charge of the

camp rather than to those who had been selected to accompany Xenophon. The rendering which he proposes appears to me far-fetched in itself, while it is further open to the objection of stating incidentally, and as a recognised fact, an occurrence of which no mention had previously been made. On the other hand, I can see no possible objection to the explanation which finds in αὐτοὺς the subject of αἰσχυρόμενοι and κατέλιπον, transitions of this kind being among the most recognised features of Xenophon's style. Trans. therefore as follows: 'But after the captains and soldiers (under Xenophon's command) had left them, they in their turn from a feeling of shame... (followed, and) left in the camp only those who had passed the age of forty-five'.

§§ 5—10. *The Greeks under Xenophon proceed to the scene of the late encounter for the purpose of burying their dead. While engaged in foraging for provisions, they are surprised by a large force of the enemy who appear on the neighbouring heights. A favourable result having been obtained from the sacrifices, Xenophon prepares his troops for battle.*

τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέρατος ποιησάμενοι] 'having halted the rear of their column over against the bodies which they had sighted first, they proceeded to bury as many of them as their line enclosed within its range'. The object of this manœuvre was to save time by adopting a methodical system of burial, and also to prevent the dispersion of the troops engaged in the work, who might at any moment be called upon to repel an attack from the enemy. The word κέρας, as in IV. 6. 6, is equivalent in force to the Latin *agmen*, 'an army marching in column'. In rendering ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους 'ad cadavera primum conspecta progredi iubentes', Kühner, I think, repeats the mistake on which I commented in the note to τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας (I. 10. 6). In both cases κατὰ is a preposition of *rest*, to be compared with *apud* rather than with *ad*. Cf. v. 2. 21. 'At' or 'over against' is perhaps the nearest equivalent in English.

§ 6. κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων] To prevent monotony, a slight variation is made in the form of the original phrase: κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας νεκρούς.

§ 7. ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος] Cf. II. 1. 6, ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προΐοντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, where the employment of the word φάλαγξ in the sense of the Latin *acies* is still more strongly marked. The punctuation which connects the phrase ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος with ἐλάμβανον rather than ὁρῶν is rightly rejected by Kühner as destructive to the rhythm of the sentence.

ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινάς] The verb occurs in the same sense in IV. 1. 7. The force of the preposition κατὰ is determined in the present instance by its connexion with ὑπερβάλλοντας. It is used elsewhere in the *Anabasis* to denote the deployment of troops 'along a range of hills'.

ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν] 'with their respective forces'. The article, which appears in the three leading MSS, is retained by the best editors. As in II. 5. 38 (ὁ βασιλεὺς = 'our king') it practically takes the place of the possessive pronoun.

§ 8. κατείδον] See note on κατίδοιεν (IV. 3. 11).

§ 9. λόχους φύλακας] ‘reserve-companies’. The same device was adopted at an earlier stage of the Retreat, and with the same object, viz. to protect a marching column against the assaults of Tissaphernes. Compare εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρήσαν οὗτοι (III. 4. 23) with the language of the present section.

τεταραγμένον] ‘so that the enemy when their order has been broken may have to encounter fresh and orderly troops’. It will be noticed that the participle τεταραγμένοι contemplates the confusion of the enemy as caused, not by a defeat, but by the excitement of a temporary triumph.

§ 10. καταχωρήσας] ‘when I have posted this rear-guard’.

§§ 11—21. *The army continues its march in the order prescribed by Xenophon. On arriving at the edge of a thickly-wooded ravine, which Sophænetus declines to cross, a halt is called for the further consideration of their plans. At the suggestion of Xenophon it is decided to cross the ravine, and force an engagement with the enemy.*

ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν] In order to assimilate the construction in the two clauses of the sentence, Bornemann proposes to read ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ in place of the accusative. But, if any change is to be made in this direction, the second clause is clearly the place for its introduction, where two of the leading MSS actually give ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον instead of the dative. The text, however, is easily explicable in its present form. If the construction of the sentence had required that the phrases τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν and τὴν δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ should be treated as combined substantives, the uniformity which is studied by Bornemann would no doubt have been desirable. But ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν and ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ are in fact independent adverbial phrases, in the former of which the accusative is easily accounted for by its connexion with a verb of motion, while, in the case of the latter, a dative of rest is in better keeping with the force of the verb ἐχώρισεν. Trans. ‘he directed one of these to follow in the wake of the right wing...while another he set apart to follow close in the rear of the centre column’. In construction, the infinitive ἐπεσθαι is epexegetical.

ἐπέτρεψεν] The best MSS are all in favour of this reading in place of ἐπεμψεν which appears in the inferior MSS. Hutchinson proposes ἐπέταξεν, but it is quite possible that our author may have preferred the gentler and more poetical expression.

τὴν μὲν...ἀπολιπόντας] We have already had occasion to notice this idiom in connexion with IV. 8. 18, τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ, while in II. 1. 6 we have a still more exact parallel: τὸ δὲ στράτευμα...κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς. Similarly we often find a noun of multitude combined with an adjective in the plural.

§ 12. προϊόντες δὲ] A nominative absolute, which refers to the Greek troops as a whole: οἱ ἡγούμενοι being added by partitive apposition like ἄλλος in II. 1. 15, and ἐκάστη in I. 7. 15. By Kühner’s shewing, the substantives νάπος and νάπη are interchangeable terms, equivalent either to *saltus* or *silva* as the context may require. In the present instance a ‘wooded ravine’ is meant, like the χαράδρα which stopped their progress in III. 4. 1.

παρεγγυῶσι] ‘pass the word’. The verb is used thus in IV. 7. 24, the famous passage which describes their first sight of the sea.

παρίεναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον] ‘to advance to the front’. From the words which follow it is clear that Xenophon, as on former occasions (III. 2. 37, IV. 5. 7 etc.), was in command of the rear-guard, a post which demanded exceptional energy and activity. The passage has consequently been quoted among those which tend to fix the date of his birth at 430 rather than 445 B.C.

§ 13. ἐλαίνει ἢ τάχιστα] In two good MSS the verb ἐδίνατο is inserted before τάχιστα. The addition is not essential to the construction, though our author usually prefers the fuller phrase.

βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη, εἰ] The sentence is an awkward as well as an ambiguous one, and I cannot at all agree with Kühner who styles it ‘commodissima’. There seems, however, to be little doubt that we have the true reading, as the six leading MSS all concur in giving it as it appears in the text, though in three of them the word εἰ has apparently been lost in the initial letters of the verb εἶη. The only alternative is οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη διαβαίνειν, the genitive βουλῆς being altogether omitted: a reading which is supplied by the inferior MSS, and is naturally viewed with suspicion, if only because it presents us with the meaning of the text in a more simple and intelligible form.

τοιοῦτον (ὄν τὸ) νάπος] The words ὄν τὸ do not appear in the four best MSS. They have been consequently bracketed by Poppo, and omitted altogether by Vollbrecht. Kühner, however, retains them on the supposition that they may have been easily merged in the words between which they stand. On the other hand, their position in the sentence might furnish an equally strong argument in accounting for their interpolation, and they certainly give an elaborate finish to the construction which is totally foreign to Xenophon’s style.

§ 14. ὑπολαβὼν] Cf. II. 1. 15, and the note on ὑπελάσας in I. 8. 15. The position and force of ἀλλὰ at the commencement of a speech have been noticed in connexion with II. 1. 4, ἀλλ’ ὥφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν.

προξενήσαντα] to ‘introduce’ or ‘recommend’ to a person is perhaps the most general equivalent for προξενεῖν in English. Cf. Dem. *adv. Nicostr.* § 1466. The verb in its figurative senses is a favourite one with Sophocles, from whom in all probability Xenophon borrowed it. Thus in *Trach.* 726, προξενεῖν θράσος is to ‘supply’ or ‘lend’ confidence: in *Oed. Col.* 465, πᾶν τελούντι προξενεῖν is to ‘give instructions’ to a willing ear: while in *Oed. Tyr.* 1468 we have a still more remarkable use of the verb, where it introduces an infinitive clause in the sense of *contriving* or *bringing about* a result:

αἱ τοῦ φυτουργοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν ὧδ’ ὄραν

τὰ πρόσθε λαμπρὰ προὔξενησαν ὄμματα.

εἰς ἀνδρείότητα] Krüger understands this as equivalent to εἰς τὸ ἀνδρείους εἶναι, ‘to stimulate your courage’, an explanation which is quite in keeping with the arguments advanced in § 18. Otherwise the force of the preposition in the phrase εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην (I. 9. 16), to which Kühner refers us, would point to a somewhat different rendering: ‘for, as touching courage, it is not reputation that you need at present, but rather self-preservation’.

§ 15. ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους] It is worth noticing that in the present instance our author reverts to the usual and more classical phrase in place of εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, the combination which he adopts in III. 2. 16, and again in IV. 5. 18. The same arguments have done duty in a previous speech (III. 2. 35): οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκονσὶ τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἣν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιούσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν.

§ 16. μεταβαλλομένους] sc. τὰ ὄπλα.

§ 17. οὐδενὶ καλῶ ἔοικε] 'is characteristic of no honourable man'. So Bornemann and Macmichael interpret the passage (comparing Plat. Legg. IX. 16 B), and, although this use of ἔοικε is undoubtedly a rare one, I much prefer their rendering to that of Kühner, who treats καλῶ as a neuter, losing thereby the whole point of the contrast which is evidently intended between καλῶ and κακίους.

καὶ τοίτους] An anticipatory accusative, the object of which is to throw special emphasis on the word selected. Compare *scin me in quibus sim gaudiis* (Ter. Eun. v. 9. 5). In reference to the aorist after ἐπίζετε, it is noteworthy that this is one of the few cases in which the construction is admitted without any variant on the part of the MSS. As a general rule, the future appears as the alternative, and is in every instance preferred by Madvig. See a note on παύσασθαι (I. 2. 2).

δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς] 'that they will await our attack'. The pronoun αὐτοῖς takes up again the subject of the verb which had been previously anticipated in τοῦτους.

§ 18. τὸ δὲ...μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι] 'now for troops on the point of an engagement to leave in their rear a difficult ravine which they have themselves crossed, is not this an opportunity which it is worth our while to seize?' For ἀρπάσαι, cf. IV. 6. 11, and also Soph. Ai. 2, πείραν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάσαι θηρώμενον.

ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου...διδάσκεσθαι] The inferior MSS read ὑπὸ for ἀπό, but the latter, though rare, is a recognised use, as Kühner shews by comparing Theog. 35, Cynop. I. 1. 2, v. 3. 30, etc. He might have added that it is especially appropriate in cases like the present where the reference is to an *inanimate* object like χωρίον.

§ 20. πῶσον τι βάπος ὁ Πόντος;] The indefinite τι has the force of the Latin *ferè*, as in II. 4. 21, πόση τις εἴη χώρα. The audacity of the figure which describes the basin of the Euxine as a species of βάπος, coupled with this tedious succession of abrupt and illogical questions, marks the passage before us as among the worst specimens of Xenophon's oratory.

§ 21. τὰ τε ιερὰ...τὰ τε σφάγια] For the distinction between the terms, cf. I. 8. 15. The relative position of the two words in the present passage tends to confirm my theory that the former is usually the more general term, denoting all that appertains to the sacrifice, and all the omens and tokens (including on occasion the οἶωνοι of the present passage), which are not directly derived from an examination of the victims (σφάγια).

ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντως εἶδον] 'now that they have once seen us.'

§§ 22—end. The passage of the ravine. After a short address from

Xenophon, the Greeks close with the enemy's troops. Having defeated them and erected a trophy on the field of battle, they proceed upon their journey to the sea.

τοῦ νάπου] A partitive genitive, to be taken in close connexion with the adverbial ἦ.

θάττον γὰρ ἂν ἄθρόον ἐδδκει] Vollbrecht and Dindorf follow the two leading MSS in placing ἂν after ἐδδκει. That Kühner is right in preferring the order of the text is scarcely open to question: whether we consider the rhythm of the sentence, which is in itself decisive on the point, or secondly that θάττον is the emphatic word, or thirdly that the particle refers to the infinitive and not to ἐδδκει.

ἐξεμηνοῦντο] ἐκμηρῦσθαι is to 'march in single line', i.e. to defile. I can find no instance in which the compound is employed in its primary sense of 'unwinding' the thread from a ball of wool (μήρυμα): used figuratively, it is a favourite word with writers on military subjects. Cf. Polyb. III. 51. 2; 53. 5. The phrase κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν clearly implies that the ravine in question had been formed by some torrent, though we are scarcely concerned in determining with the commentators the history of its formation.

§ 23. σύν τοῖς θεοῖς] See note on III. 2. 8, and introduction. The phrase ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος is an eastern form of hyperbole, on which we have already commented in connexion with II. 4. 4.

§ 24. ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ] See note on VI. 2. 15. In illustration of ὀνομαστὶ Macmichael refers to Homer *Il.* x. 68,

πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον.

ἦδύ τοι] The word τοι is replaced by τὸν in the inferior MSS. The cause of the corruption may, I think, be easily found in the activity of some copyist, who, not content with the usual explanation (see note on αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ in I. 4. 8), was anxious to create a definite subject for the verbs which follow.

ἐν οἷς ἐθέλει] I am not surprised that Schneider should have suggested the omission of the preposition, with which Kühner, however, expresses himself satisfied. It certainly does not accord with the verb παρέχειν, and might have been easily evolved from the final letters of the previous word. Its retention may perhaps be justified on the ground that the phrase μνήμην παρέχειν implies, if it does not include, the idea of leaving a record (μνήμην καταλείπειν).

§ 25. ἐπὶ φάλαγγος] Cf. IV. 3. 26.

ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον] The accusative is accounted for by the fact that the phrase in question is a condensed one. Cf. παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις (I. 2. 2) for ἐλθόντες εἰς Σάρδεις παρήσαν.

εἰς προβολὴν καθέντας] 'with their spears couched at rest'. I cannot at all appreciate the reasons which have induced Kühner and Zeune, alone of all the editors, to read προσβολὴν for προβολὴν on the authority of four MSS. Not only is the phrase εἰς προβολὴν καθιέναι the recognised one in this connexion: it is also the exact counterpart of the participle προβαλλομένους, which in I. 2. 17 is used to describe the same manœuvre.

διώκειν] Similarly in VII. 2. 20 we find the verb used absolutely, as in the present instance, to denote a quick advance.

καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον] ‘that the position they occupied was a strong one’. The phrase is a more forcible one than καλῶς ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον, which some of the editors have proposed to substitute for it. In the sentence which follows there might have been some doubt as to the subject of the verb ἐπλησίαζον, if it were not for the contrast implied in ὑπέμενον which makes it clear that we are to understand οἱ Ἕλληνες from the succeeding clause. A note on the verb ἀλαλάζειν will be found in connexion with ἐλελίσσουσι (I. 8. 18).

§ 27. ὑπηντίαζεν] The compound occurs frequently in poetry: in prose it is used only by Herodotus and Xenophon.

§ 28. ὥς ὀλίγοι ὄντες] ‘considering the smallness of their numbers’. According to VI. 2. 16, there were only about forty of them in all. In illustration of this force of ὥς, cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1078, φρονεῖ γάρ, ὥς γυνή, μέγα, ‘for a woman she has grand ideas’, and a similar use of ut in Latin, e.g. *multae, ut in homine Romano, litterae* (Cic. *de Amic.* IV. 12).

καθ’ ὃ] See note on I. 8. 21.

§ 30. ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δ’ ἐδόκει] ‘they decided, tired though they were, that the pursuit must be followed up’. This idiom, which is especially common in poetry, treats the two clauses of the sentence as of equivalent importance: though the words ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν really represent a subordinate idea, which might have been equally well expressed in a participial form (καίπερ ἀπειρηκότες). Compare, however, Thuc. VI. 91, Σικελιώται ἀπειρότεροι μὲν εἰσιν, ὅμως δ’ ἂν καὶ νῦν ἐτι περιγένοιτο. The verb ἀπειρήκεσαν in its figurative sense is a favourite one with our author, no doubt from its frequent occurrence in poetry, e.g. in Soph. *Trach.* 789, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀπέειπε, πολλὰ μὲν τάλας χθονὶ ῥίπτων ἑαυτὸν.

ὥς μὴ τεθαρρήκοτες ἀναπαύσαιντο] ‘that the enemy might not take courage and recruit their strength’.

§ 31. κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς] Cf. I. 5. 8, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου. In place of ὥτπερ Krüger proposes to read ὥσπερί, which, taken in connexion with the participle, is not only the more elegant but also the more grammatical combination. The article οἱ, which follows ὥσπερ in three good MSS, is rejected by Kühner, who acutely suggests that its introduction would necessitate the article with ἱππέων, as the reference would in that case be limited to the definite occurrence noticed in § 28.

ὃ] The relative is to be taken in connexion with the whole of the previous statement, not merely with νάπος.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—5. *The Greeks regain their camp, and await the arrival of Cleander, the Spartan harmost. Meantime they plunder the surrounding territory. The question of forming a colony in the neighbourhood is reopened. Arrival of Cleander with two triremes, but no transports.*

Dexippus, who had deserted from the Greeks at Trapezus, reappears, and foments a quarrel between Cleander and the army.

ὥς ἥξοντα] 'in expectation that they would soon arrive'. See note on ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος in I. 1. 6.

§ 2. καταμένοι] A frequentative optative. With the exception of Kühner, almost every editor of note, including Bornemann, Poppo and Vollbrecht, has followed Schneider in introducing the article before ἐξιώντες, clearly for the purpose of strengthening the contrast between the plunder which was regarded as private property (ἐλάμβανον), and that which was confiscated for the service of the camp (δημόσιον ἐδοξεν εἶναι). But, in addition to the fact that there is not a trace of the article in any of the MSS, the reference intended in ἐξιώντες is not so much to a definite portion of the army as to the entire army taken individually, and the construction consequently comes under the same head as ἀπολιπόντας (VI. 5. 11) on which I have commented in my note to the passage.

§ 3. κατήγον] Kühner, apparently, takes the verb in an absolute sense, but I know of no other case in which the active is used as an equivalent for κατὰγέσθαι. In all probability it is this difficulty that has led Vollbrecht and some of the best editors to prefer κατείχον in defiance of the authority of the four leading MSS. There is no reason, however, why we should not retain the reading of the text, understanding it in the following sense: 'were glad to land their cargoes', a rendering which may further explain how the gloss κατέπεμπον found its way into one of the MSS.

§ 4. ἐπεδείκνυν αὐτοὺς] The statement is worthy of notice if only as tending to shew that Xenophon had not yet abandoned his favourite project of forming a settlement in the neighbourhood.

§ 5. ἄλλοι ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν] The text of this passage is full of difficulty. The reading which I have adopted is a conjectural emendation of Dindorf's, accepted by Vollbrecht (who does not even bracket it), and mentioned with approval by Kühner, though he does not give it a place in his text. In the MSS the passage appears as follows: καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι, ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ εἰλήφεσαν, a reading which it is impossible, I think, to regard as genuine, though Kühner edits it without questioning its authenticity. The words ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος he explains naturally enough by assuming that the main body of the troops had, as usual, sought their plunder in the plains: but his theory in regard to the construction, by which ἐτύγχανον is to be supplied with οἰχόμενοι and ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι ἐτύγχανον with ἄλλοι, appears to me to be hopelessly involved. By placing a colon after the word ὄρος, and removing the comma after οἰχόμενοι, Macmichael has at any rate rendered the passage grammatical. Other emendations have been proposed: e.g. καὶ οἰχόμενοι ἄλλος ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν (Schneider), and καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοσε εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν (Bornemann).

μὴ ἀφαιρεθεῖεν] sc. as confiscated property, a statement which should give us some help in determining the reading of the foregoing passage, as it identifies the relation of the stragglers to the main body of the troops with that mentioned towards the close of § 2.

δς ἀπέδρα] Cf. v. I. 15.

διασώσαντα αὐτοῖς] The pronoun, which is found in the three leading MSS, will occasion no difficulty. At the same time there are grounds for supposing that it is a mere reproduction of the word αὐτοῖς in the following clause, which may have been accidentally transposed into the adjoining line of the MS. The probability of this is further increased by the fact that in the latter half of the sentence, where its presence is undoubtedly required, two of the best MSS omit it altogether.

§§ 6—11. *The progress of the dispute. Cleander threatens to close the neighbouring ports against the admission of the Greeks, unless they surrender to him Agasias, who, as Xenophon's friend, had been specially selected by Dexippus as the subject of his calumnies.*

§ 7. ἀφαιρείται] 'rescues him from his hands, for the man they were arresting was a private in his company'. The phrase ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν προδότην is noteworthy only on account of the introduction of the article, the force of which would be very nearly represented on paper by the use of inverted commas. Krüger proposes a slightly different explanation, suggesting that the addition of the article stamps Dexippus as the traitor κατ' ἐξοχήν.

§ 8. ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶη πρᾶγμα] 'that there was nothing the matter'. Cf. IV. I. 17, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἶη. In Madvig's opinion αἷτιος is followed by a direct infinitive (e.g. ταῦτα γενέσθαι in place of τοῦ ταῦτα γενέσθαι), when it refers to an event that has already taken place. Accordingly we find the article omitted in the phrase τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν (§ 8) in contrast with its employment when the reference is to an act either contemplated or incomplete, as in the case of the phrase ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν (I. 4. 15).

§ 11. ἐξήτει] Macmichael still retains the manuscript reading ἐξήτει, though the majority of the editors have adopted ἐξήτει, the conjecture of Schaefer, which Kühner describes as 'elegantissima'. The expression διὰ τέλους φίλος 'a constant friend' is incomplete in construction. Other writers would have added a participle, or have drawn up the clause in a relative form.

§§ 12—16. *An address from Xenophon on the difficulties of the situation.*

ἐμοὶ δέ] In the present instance δέ takes the place of ἀλλά, the employment of which in similar cases has been repeatedly noticed. Compare in particular I. 8. 17, II. I. 20 and II. 5. 16.

οὐδὲν φάλλον] This adverbial use of οὐδὲν is by no means uncommon, more especially in poetry. Cf. VII. I. 25, τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτίαν, and a passage quoted by Dindorf from the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles (773): τὸν οὐδὲν αἷτιον τοῦ σοῦ κακοῦ. Its place in the present text rests on the authority of two leading MSS, which Kühner has deemed sufficient to warrant its introduction. The editors as a rule, including Vollbrecht, have preferred ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ, which is found in the bulk of the MSS, and I am strongly inclined to agree with them, as Kühner, I think, has not noticed the fact that, when οὐδὲν is combined with an adjective in an adverbial sense, it is usually preceded by the article, being (strictly speaking) an accusative of respect. Thus, in the passage

quoted above from the *Trachiniae*, we have τὸν οὐδὲν αἴτιον, 'the man who was in no respect the cause of the mischief you had wrought'.

ἡμῖν] is an ethic dative, or, as others have preferred to call it, a *dativus commodi* or *incommodi*. It refers to ἀπεισιν no less than to the subordinate participial clause. See note on Κύρῳ in II. 1. 1.

ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος] There is little doubt, I think, that the construction is the same as that referred to in the note on διαλείπουσι δ' ἑκάστη (I. 7. 15), usually known as *partitive apposition*. The addition of εἰς ἕκαστος to the plural verb suggests, as a further idea, that what had been stated *collectively* is now to be regarded *seriatim*. It is true that Kühner proposes an alternative explanation, according to which the sentence might be paraphrased as follows: ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ (sc. *et quidem*) εἰς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὃ τι βούλονται διαπραττεσθαι.

§ 13. ὥς ἀπιστοῦντας] This use of ἀπιστεῖν as an equivalent for ἀπειθεῖν has been noticed in connexion with II. 6. 19. It is possible that our author may have borrowed it from Sophocles, his favourite dramatist, who on several occasions clearly preferred it as the more poetic word.

§ 14. ἔνεκα] Three of the inferior MSS give εὔνεκα, the form which should be substituted for οὐνεκα in every passage of the tragedians where ἔνεκα is inadmissible in consequence of the metre. It has long been recognised that, notwithstanding its retention in Dindorf's text, the formation of οὐνεκα (by crasis for οὐ ἔνεκα) precludes its use as a simple preposition. Kühner notices as an interesting fact that, while ἔνεκα and εὔνεκα are used indifferently by Plato and Xenophon, Thucydides on the other hand entirely confines himself to the shorter form.

οὔτε ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς...οὔτε δυοῖν] Lit. 'we ought not out of regard for one man, nor yet for two, to be debarred from reaching Greece'. It is worth notice that in stereotyped expressions of this kind the stress is laid in English on the *smaller* of the two numbers: in Greek (whether by the order or arrangement of the words) on the *larger*. Compare by way of illustration Soph. *Ai.* 432,

νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ δις αἰάξειν ἐμοί
καὶ τρίς* τοιοῦτοις γὰρ κακοῖς ἐντυγχάνω.

ἀπέχεσθαι] is the reading of the four best MSS for ἀποσχέσθαι, which appears in the majority. The present participle occurs in the same sense in *Hell.* VII. 3. 10.

§ 15. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν...ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν] The repetition of these words at the close of the parenthesis in precisely the same form is entirely consistent with Xenophon's style. Compare a number of similar passages which I have collected in the introduction (e.g. I. 6. 6, II. 2. 17, II. 2. 20, etc.), in all of which there is less ground for excuse, since no particular emphasis is gained, as in the present instance, by the repetition of the phrase.

ἐμέ τι τούτων αἴτιον] 'that I am in any sense the cause of these troubles', the τι being used adverbially like οὐδὲν at the commencement of § 12.

καταδικάζω ἐμαντοῦ] Kühner, alone of all the editors, reads ἐαυτοῦ

in place of *ἐμαντοῦ* on the authority of two leading MSS, without, however, instancing any other passage in which the confusion caused by the interchange of the words is so intolerable as in the case before us, for in VII. 5. 5 the reading, as he himself admits, is doubtful.

§ 16. *κρίναι*] sc. *ὥστε Κλέανδρον κρίναι αὐτόν.*

ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων] This use of *δὲ* in the *apodosis* to give a certain emphasis after relative sentences or conjunctions has been noticed in connexion with IV. 1. 2. Cf. Soph. *Elec.* 25—28,

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἵππος εὐγενῆς, κὰν ἦ γέρων,

ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς θυμὸν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν,

...ὥσαύτως δὲ σὺ

ἡμᾶς τ' ὀτρύνεις καὶ τὸς ἐν πρώτοις ἔπει.

§§ 17—19. *Agasias takes upon himself the sole responsibility of the act, and, at his own request, is sent to Cleander, attended by an escort of officers and by the man whom he had rescued from Dexifrus.*

§ 18. *μὴ ἐκδότε*] I would warn beginners against the solecism *μὴ ἐκδότε*, which is actually found in three of the best MSS, though (as Kühner points out) the position of the accent on the penultimate gives a very clear hint as to the true reading.

κρίναντι...ποιῆσαι] sc. *κρίναι τε καὶ ποιῆσαι*, 'will place myself in the hands of Cleander for trial that he may perform his pleasure upon me'.

σώξοισθε] Dindorf edits *σώξεσθε*, which is the reading of the inferior MSS. But the words of Agasias are far more expressive and graceful as a prayer than as a command, even if the manuscript authority had been decisive in favour of the optative. We have already had occasion in II. 4. 19 to notice the combination of *σώζειν* with an adverb of motion.

συμπέψατε...ἐλόμενοι] 'select, however, and send with me to Cleander certain of your own number'.

§ 19. *ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου*] Cf. IV. 2. 18, *ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ*. The more grammatical order would be as follows: *ὁ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ*, but in composite phrases where the words are to be taken in close combination the rule is not invariably observed. Compare, in particular, such expressions as *ὁ λυμεῶν ἐμὸς* (Soph. *Ai.* 573) and *Ζεὺς ὁ γεννήτωρ ἐμὸς* (Eur. *Hipp.* 683), in both of which the position of the word *ἐμὸς* presents a similar difficulty.

§§ 20—24. *After a conciliatory speech from the officers, Agasias himself addresses Cleander.*

σε αὐτόν] Macmichael edits *σεαυτόν*, a reading which Kühner rejects on the following grounds: 'pronomina reflexiva usurpari non possunt, nisi ubi quis sibi ipsi opponitur'.

§ 22. *Δέξιππον...Δέξιππον*] The repetition is no doubt intentional for the sake of rhetorical emphasis. Compare a very similar passage in III. 2. 23, *βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ*, as well as the introduction of the proper name in II. 6. 8, *ικανὸς δὲ (ὁ Κλέαρχος) καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅτι πειστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ*.

ἐφ' ᾧ τε] For an account of this idiom, see note on IV. 2. 19. In analyzing the construction of the entire passage, which is rendered somewhat awkward by the cumbrous succession of participles (*αἰρεθέντα*

...ἀποδράντα...προδόντα), it will be sufficient to notice that the order is as follows: οἶδα Δέξιππον...καὶ ἀποδράντα καὶ προδόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας—the clauses which intervene being treated as parenthetical. The passage, though an inelegant one, is in fact sufficiently clear, if Krüger had not created difficulties for himself by coupling the participles thus: αἰρεθέντα καὶ ἀποδράντα.

§ 23. τοὺς τε Τραπεζούντιους ἀπεστερήκαμεν...αὐτοὶ τε...ἀπολώλαμεν] It will be observed that the two main clauses of the sentence are introduced respectively by τε and τέ, the passage which intervenes (καὶ κακοὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον) being merely a subordinate addition to the earlier clause. τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 'as far as it depended upon this man', for which Kühner compares *Cyros*. v. 4. 11, νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ σέχομαι, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ σέσωσμαι, a passage which may further serve to illustrate the force of the perfect ἀπολώλαμεν.

ἀφειλόμην] It is easy to understand τὸν ἄνδρα after ἀφειλόμην, considering the repeated allusions that have been made to his rescue in the previous narrative: 'such then were the antecedents of this man from whom I rescued (the soldier)'.

§ 24. τῶν παρὰ σοῦ] See note on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως in connexion with the word ἀφικνοῖτο (I. 1. 5).

νόμιζε...ἀποκτείνων] The participle, which is very rarely found in combination with the verb νομίζειν, may be accounted for on the ground that νομίζειν in the present passage is itself equivalent to a stronger verb, denoting a sure and certain belief. For ἀποκτείνων, the MSS (with the exception of the two best) would seem to have read ἀποκτενῶν, though with a wrong accent: a combination which Hermann and others have denounced as ungrammatical. There is, however, distinct evidence that both constructions are admissible, the present participle being preferred when the reference is to an act the execution or realisation of which is regarded as imminent.

§§ 25—34. *Agasias and the soldier whom he had rescued are detained by Cleander for trial. A deputation, headed by Xenophon, obtains their release, and at the same time offers the supreme command to Cleander, who provisionally consents to accept it.*

τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν] 'to obtain his deserts', like ἔχει τὴν δίκην in II. 5. 38. The words τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα in the following section refer of course to Agasias.

§ 27. ἀδικοῦντα] The emphatic word: 'that I was doing anything wrong when I was arrested (by Dexippus)'.

§ 28. παρὰ τὴν ρήτρην] The unwritten laws of Lycurgus were called ρήτραι, and it is possible that the word is substituted for δόγμα in the present passage to conciliate the favour of the Lacedaemonian general. Tr. 'that he might himself secure his own share, and preserve their booty for the plunderers in defiance of our decree'. The force of the words τοιοῦτος εἰ is well expressed by Macmichael's rendering: 'since you are so far implicated', 'since the case stands thus with you'.

§ 29. συνεβούλευε] For the force of the active, see note on II. 1. 16. Only two MSS—but those the two best—are in favour of the reading συνεβουλεύετο which is preferred by Kühner: Vollbrecht and the ma-

majority of the editors follow the bulk of the MSS in retaining the active. There is little doubt that, taken *per se*, the employment of the middle might be justified in the sense which Kühner assigns to it: *re cum aliis deliberata aliquid statuere, decernere*, though, if this had been the author's meaning, it is difficult to see why he did not, as usual, employ the plural (συνεβουλεύοντο) in reference to the entire assembly. Moreover, there is a certain want of fitness in the combination of the active and the middle voice (συνήγαγε καὶ συνεβουλεύετο) without a corresponding change of subject; add to which, the use of the middle in the sense which Kühner proposes weakens by anticipation the statement of the final decision: ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.

παραιτησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν] 'to ask his indulgence on behalf of the prisoners'.

§ 30. ἐκ τούτου] The omission of the connecting particle in cases where a statement is explanatory of what precedes has been commented on in the note to τούτῳ συγγενόμενος (I. I. 9).

Δρακόντιον] A short account of his antecedents is given in IV. 8. 25.

§ 31. ὑφείτο] Nearly all the leading editors, except Krüger, retain this reading on the authority of four good MSS, in preference to ἐφέιτο which appears in the remainder. To the idea of *permitting*, which is contained in ἐφέιτο, the present compound adds the notion of *humbly* permitting, a force which is peculiarly suitable in connexion with the context. Moreover, by a reference to other passages (e.g. *Cyrop.* VI. 3. 36, *Hell.* VII. 4. 9) Kühner shews that the word is a favourite one with our author in this particular sense.

§ 32. ἐπιδείξειν] The future, which passes without a remark from the commentators, is noteworthy, because, as we have repeatedly shewn, the aorist is the construction which our author usually prefers after verbs of *promising*, *expecting* and the like. But in such cases it will be found that the reference is always to a *definite* and *imminent* event: here, where the promise points to a continued service of obedience, the future is the more forcible tense.

§ 33. ἄρξαντα] Observe the force of the aorist, 'having taken the command over them'. In place of the plural ἐκάστοις we might have expected ἐκάστῳ, considering that οἷος ἑκαστός ἐστι has preceded it, but the plural, as usual, represents the men by their respective *classes*: e.g. Dexippus and those who resembled him, Agasias and those of his stamp.

§ 34. καὶ τῷ σιῶ] *Laconice* for καὶ τῷ θεῷ, Castor and Pollux being the deities intended as in *Hell.* IV. 4. 10.

παραδιῶσω] The use of this verb in an absolute sense is so generally recognised that Kühner and the majority of the editors are manifestly right in rejecting the word τι by which it is followed in every single MS with the exception of one. It is less easy to determine the special force of the preposition in the compound ἐξηγήσομαι. It might simply intensify the force of the verb, though the occurrence of the compound ἐκκομίσει in § 36 practically reduces the choice to an alternative: i.e. 'I will lead you *out of the country*' or it may be '*out of your troubles*'.

§§ 35—end. *The auspices do not admit of Cleander's accepting the command: so, after returning the presents which had been made to him*

and giving other tokens of his goodwill, he leaves them and departs by sea. The troops with Xenophon resume their march, and, after diverging from their course for the sake of securing plunder, they arrive six days later at Chrysopolis, where they remain for a week, occupied with the sale of their spoils.

ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ] See note on VI. 4. 9. The phrase *ξενίαν ξυμβάλλεσθαι*, 'to make a covenant of friendship', denotes the formal recognition of their duties and responsibilities as friends.

§ 36. ἐμοὶ μέντοι] On the assumption that this is the true reading, in place of which all the MSS but the three best give ἐμοὶ μὲν, the force of μέντοι will be equivalent to that of ἀλλὰ in II. 1. 4, being directed against a feeling not openly expressed, but existing in the mind of the speaker. In dealing with the rest of the sentence Vollbrecht stands by the manuscript reading οὐ τελέθει τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν, the objection to which lies mainly in the addition of the infinitive. Kühner edits οὐκ ἐθέλει γενέσθαι, and traces in a very clear summary the successive stages by which the interchange of the two readings was probably effected. For the construction of the phrase, see note on *λέναι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ* in II. 2. 3.

ἐκείσε] sc. to Byzantium.

§ 37. διαθέμενοι] διατίθεσθαι is literally to *set out* or *arrange* for sale. Tr. 'having disposed of their corn'.

§ 38. οὐδενὶ] Neuter: 'no plunder'. For διεξελθεῖν the two best MSS give ἐλθεῖν, which is consequently preferred by Vollbrecht and some of the editors, though, as Kühner suggests, it is difficult to understand how the more recondite and expressive verb should have supplanted the simpler one. He has failed, however, to notice the occurrence of the form ἐλθεῖν in the following clause, which is perhaps the very strongest point in favour of his reading. Tr. 'so that, with something to shew, they might pass out through a land of strangers into a land of friends'.

εἰς Χρυσόπολιν] The distance from *Calpe* to *Chrysopolis* (the modern *Scutari*) would be about eighty miles. The Greeks, accordingly, must have travelled on an average some thirteen miles a day, and, as on this occasion they had the advantage of a regular road, it is easy to understand that, at the period of their worst difficulties, an advance of six or seven miles may have represented the results of a long day's march. With the arrival of the troops at *Chrysopolis*, the Retreat (properly so called) terminates: their service under Seuthes in Thrace being in no way connected with the original objects of the expedition.

τῆς Χαλκηδονίας] Chalcedon, now known as *Kadi Köyü*, was colonised from *Megara* in B.C. 676. It was situated in Bithynia, very nearly opposite to *Byzantium*, at the southern extremity of the Thracian Bosphorus.

NOTES.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

ἐποίησαν] The manuscript authority is altogether in favour of the imperfect, though Dindorf edits ἐποίησαν, which is in better keeping with the aorist ἐπραξαν, and is moreover the tense uniformly adopted by our author in these introductory chapters. On the other hand, the imperfect is distinctly more forcible, and may be easily defended on the analogy of the reading ὤρμῳντο in I. 10. 1 and II. 1. 3.

ἔξω τοῦ στόματος] The Thracian Bosphorus is meant. For ἔξω a geographer at Athens would no doubt have used εἰσω. But, as Kühner points out, both expressions may be equally correct on the assumption that the writer in each case is describing the locality in reference to his own position at the time.

§§ 2—7. *At the instigation of Pharnabazus, the Spartan Admiral encourages the Greeks to cross to Byzantium by holding out promises of payment. Senthes of Thrace urges Xenophon to use his influence in the same direction. Having secured their compliance, Anaxibius fails in his promise.*

δέοι] sc. ποιεῖν. For the future ποιήσῃ in connexion with ὑπισχνέιτο, see note on ἐπιδείξῃ in VI. 6. 32.

§ 4. ἀπαγγελεῖν] 'that they must take counsel before they returned a reply'. The MSS as a rule are in favour of the present ἀπαγγέλλειν, which Kühner accordingly retains. The other editors—including Dindorf, Vollbrecht and Macmichael—have adopted the reading in the text which is found (though with a wrong accent) in the best MS. I have little hesitation in following them, as the phrase ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι in II. 3. 27, to which Kühner refers in defence of ἀπαγγέλλειν, stands, it is clear, on totally different grounds. In the passage he quotes, the allusion is to an action that had been continuously in progress, and was only momentarily delayed: while in the case before us the reference is to an isolated and independent act of the future, in relation to which this use of the present seems wholly indefensible.

ἔπειτα οὕτως] The ordinary equivalent in Greek is τότε ἤδη, in Latin *tum demum*. The peculiarity of the present expression lies in

the combination of the two adverbs, either of which may be used independently with nearly the same force as they bear in the passage before us. Macmichael instances the phrase *ibí tum* (Ter. *Eun.* 1. 2. 28, *Andr.* 1. 1. 79) as an analogous combination, while *καθ' οὕτω* occurs in Aristoph. *Av.* 678 and *Nub.* 1139.

§ 5. *Σεύθης...ὁ Θράξ*] Cf. VII. 3. 16, *Σεύθης δὲ...ἄρχων ἔσοιτο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ*, from which and other passages it is clear that he is not to be confounded with the prince of the same name who succeeded Sitalcas as king of the Odrysae. He was in fact the representative in these parts of Medocus, the reigning king. An account of his antecedents is given later on in VII. 2. 32.

ὅτι οὐ μεταμελήσει] Kühner and Vollbrecht are right, I think, in preferring this reading to *ὅτι οὐ μεταμελήσειν*, which appears in all but the three leading MSS, and is retained by Macmichael and a few of the editors. It is true that there are instances of a similarly confused construction in other portions of the *Anabasis*, notably in III. 1. 20, where *ἦδειν ὅτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας* affords an almost exact parallel, but, as I have observed in the introduction, these are chiefly confined to the earlier portions of the work, and are certainly not to be multiplied in cases where there is good manuscript authority for a simpler and more intelligible reading. See note on *παραδώσει* in VII. 5. 8. Notwithstanding its position, the pronoun *αὐτῷ* is strictly dependent on *μεταμελήσει*, though it is placed early in the sentence to secure an additional emphasis. Cf. I. 8. 21 *ἦδει αὐτόν, ὅτι ἔχοι*.

§ 6. *τελείτω*] sc. *ὁ Σεύθης*. There is some little doubt as to the precise meaning of the term *ἐπικαιρίους*. The omission of the article implies that it is coextensive in application with the word *διαμένοντας*, i.e. 'those who remain and who will (therefore) be available for his purpose'. On the other hand, Kühner's rendering, 'qui maxime apti sunt', can scarcely be strained so as to include the entire number of those who might continue in the country.

§ 7. *ἐπισιτίζεσθαι*] The infinitive is expegetical: 'so as to (i.e. with which to) purchase supplies for the journey'.

§§ 8—17. *Acting on the suggestion of Cleander, Xenophon cooperates with Anaxibius in withdrawing the troops to a point outside the city walls, whereupon the gates are closed upon them. Enraged at their treatment, the soldiers re-enter the city by force.*

προσελθὼν ἡσπάξετο αὐτόν] 'came to wish him good-bye'. *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, like the Latin *salutare*, is used indifferently both of meetings and leave-takings.

εἰ δὲ μή] may denote the opposite to a previous condition, even if it be a negative one as in the present instance.

οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει] In order to retain the special force of the verb *ἐξέρπειν*, Hutchinson, who is followed by Macmichael, proposes to render the passage as follows: 'because the troops are creeping out so reluctantly'. So far-fetched an interpretation is entirely unnecessary, when we consider how frequently our author uses *ἐρπειν* as a mere equivalent for *λέναι*, *πορεύεσθαι* and the like, whether it was that he preferred it as the more poetic word, or, as Kühner thinks probable, adopted it from the Doric dialect.

§ 10. ἔφη] sc. ὁ Κλέανδρος.

§ 11. αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται] ‘will have himself to blame for the consequences’. The order of the sentence is as follows: ὅτι, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρῇ..., αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται. The word ἄρδην in the ensuing section is adopted from the language of poetry, being found in Eur. *Phoen.* 1636, and in Aristoph. *Thesm.* 274, where it is treated by Hesychius as an equivalent for παντελῶς. In its primary sense (cf. αἶρω) it is still more frequent in tragedy, e.g. in Æsch. *Prom.* 1051, and again in Soph. *Antig.* 430,

ἐκ τ' εὐκροτήτου χαλκίας ἄρδην πρόχου
χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει.

§ 12. καὶ Ἐτεόνικος] ‘when Eteonicus took his stand by the city gates’. Cf. I. 8. 8, and IV. 6. 2. We have frequently noticed this idiom by which καί, like *et* in Latin, is used as a temporal conjunction to shew at what point the matter stood when a change or fresh event took place. The employment of the accusative in the phrase εἰσπήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας is remarkable: less so, however, than in the corresponding passage of V. 3. 13, where any idea of motion is altogether foreign to the context.

τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλῶν] The bar, after being raised into position, was dropt into a groove or socket constructed in one of the door-posts. The βάλανος, by which it was finally secured in its place, was a moveable plug of iron, which could be passed at pleasure through the door-post and into the bar.

§ 13. ἔλεγε] The imperfect, no less than the aorist, is a recognised tense in this connexion. The question, therefore, between the two readings is simply one of manuscript authority, which is almost entirely in favour of the imperfect. With the exception, however, of Kühner, nearly all the editors, including Vollbrecht, have adopted ἔλεξε, though it rests on the authority of one single MS.

τὰλλα ἐπιτήδεια] I have no hesitation in following Kühner, who omits the article before ἐπιτήδεια in conformity with the two best MSS. Indeed the argument which he adduces to justify its introduction by the majority of the editors tells rather in favour of its omission. In phrases of this character he regards the substantive as added by way of apposition (e.g. οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες in *Apol.* 11). But the construction to which he refers is used in a *limiting* or *qualifying* sense in the passage which he has quoted from the *Apology*, ‘the rest, I mean those (only) who were present at the time’, and where no such idea appears in the context, as in the case of the passage before us, I cannot regard the presence of the article as in the least degree appropriate.

Κυνίσκος] According to Zeune he was a Spartan general, engaged at this time in conducting a war with the Thracians in the Chersonese.

§ 14. διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα] The preposition is peculiarly appropriate in this connexion, where the metaphor is that of a river which makes its way into a place by different channels.

διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους] A mountain which extended from Thrace into the Chersonese. The fortress, which took its name from the mountain,

is mentioned by Demosthenes (*de Hal.* p. 85), and also as having been occupied by Philip in the course of his war with Cersobleptes.

§ 17. *παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τείχους*] 'by the mole which protected the wall'. The *locus classicus* on the subject is Thuc. i. 63, in commenting on which the scholiast describes the *χηλή* as a rough species of breakwater designed to protect the wall against the action of the sea, adding that it received its name from its resemblance in shape to an ox-hoof (*παρὰ τὸ εὐοικεῖναι χηλὴ βούς*). Such structures are especially common in the Mediterranean, e.g. at Catania, Palermo and Fiume.

§§ 18—31. *In the hope of quieting the disturbance, Xenophon enters the city in company with his troops. The terror of the inhabitants. His soldiers urge him to make himself master of the place. Declining the proposal, he takes advantage of the opportunity to counsel moderation.*

§ 19. *ἐνδον*] 'within doors'.

ὡς ἐαλωκνίας τῆς πόλεως] See notes on *ὡς ἐς Πισίδας βουλόμενος* (I. i. 11), and *ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος* (I. i. 6).

§ 20. *εἰς τὴν ἄκραν...εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*] In Kühner's opinion the reference in each case is to the citadel. Otherwise, as he acutely suggests, it would be impossible to account for the article with *ἄκραν*, unless some previous mention had been made of the locality.

§ 21. *πολλοί*] 'in numbers'.

§ 22. *θέσθε τὰ ὄπλα*] See notes on I. 5. 14 and IV. 2. 16. The manœuvre was a clever one. To reestablish his authority, it was necessary at all hazards to arrest the attention of his troops. This he effected by giving an apparent assent to their schemes, and by promulgating an order which, while ostensibly furthering their plans, enforced discipline as the first requisite for success.

κατηρεμῆσαι] If the MSS were not absolutely unanimous in favour of this unusual form, I should certainly prefer to read *κατηρεμίσαι* (the conjecture of Dindorf), which is accepted by almost every editor with the exception of Kühner, and is to a great extent confirmed by the fact that, when the verb occurs again in § 24, three of the leading MSS give *κατηρεμίσθησαν* as the form of the aorist. In either case the compound should be noticed as belonging to a class of words which are favourites with Plato and Xenophon, both of whom shew a marked predilection for the language of poetry and metaphor.

παρηγγυᾶ] 'passed this order'. Cf. *παρηγγύησαν εἶχέσθαι* in IV. 3. 16.

§ 23. *οἱ τε ὀπλῖται...καὶ οἱ πελτασταί*] These substantives are added to the main nominative (*οἱ δὲ...πατρώμενοι*) by partitive apposition, for which see notes on II. i. 15 and II. 5. 5.

εἰς ὀκτώ] According to the inferior MSS, *εἰς πεντήκοντα* would be the true reading. Kühner, however, demonstrates how easily the two numbers, which would be represented by the characters II' (=8) and N' (=50), might have been interchanged, and notices at the same time that the wide extent of ground available for the review would have suggested no departure from the ordinary rule (cf. III. 2. 16).

§ 24. *ἐκτάξασθαι* sc. *ὥστε ἐκτάξασθαι τὸ στράτευμα*. To judge from a passage in *Hell.* i. 3. 20, the ground chosen for the review was situated in the neighbourhood of the Thracian Gates.

§ 26. ἐωρακότας] 'when one has seen'. The substitution of the accusative for the dative marks the statement as a purely general one. Had the dative been used, its application would have been confined to Xenophon, and the audience he was addressing. By τὰ νῦν ἤδη γενημένα he means the recent events of the Peloponnesian war.

§ 27. ἤλθομεν] It is surprising that Macmichael and some of the editors should have elected to retain the compound εἰσῆλθομεν, when the simple verb, which is so frequently found in this connexion, occurs in three out of the five leading MSS.

ἔχοντες τριήρεις] The statement which follows of the wealth and resources of Athens at the commencement of the war should be compared step by step with the still more elaborate review which is given by Thucydides in his Second Book (Chrs. 9—13). Taken in connexion with the well-known passage of Aristoph. *Vesp.* 657 ff., which enumerates her various sources of income at the time, these extracts will furnish a clear idea of the grounds on which Pericles based his forecast that, given an impartial fortune and an honest government at home, Athens must assuredly have triumphed in a single-handed contest with Lacedaemon.

οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων] Cf. Thuc. II. 13 (ἀπέφαινε)...τριήρεις τὰς πλοῦτους τριακοσίας, which furnishes conclusive proof that the five leading MSS of the *Anabasis* are right in reading τριακοσίων in place of τετρακοσίων which appears in the majority.

ἐν τῇ πόλει] sc. ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Cf. Thuc. II. 13, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων, while the use of the term πόλις to denote the Acropolis or *old city* is also mentioned by Thucydides in the closing words of § 15.

ἀπὸ...τῶν ἐνδήμων] These include the various items of home revenue enumerated by Aristophanes in *Vesp.* 657, 658,

κᾶξω τοῦτου τὰ τέλη χωρὶς καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἑκατοστάς,
πρυτανεία, μέταλλ', ἀγοράς, λιμένας, μισθοὺς καὶ δημιόπρατα.

In the line which follows the above quotation, the poet estimates the total amount of the Athenian revenue, both at home and abroad, at close upon two thousand talents, but the apparent discrepancy will occasion no difficulty if we remember how extraordinarily their foreign income fluctuated according to the vicissitudes of the war. To take only one example: at the date of the peace of Nicias it was more than double what it had been at the time of the commencement of the war, having risen from 600 talents to more than 1200.

τῆς ὑπερορίας] sc. γῆς or χώρας, under which head are included all the districts that were subject to Athens outside the actual confines of Attica.

ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ] Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 700,

ὅστις πόλεων ἄρχων πλείστων, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Σαρδούς.

Among the islands which sided with Athens Thucydides (II. 9) specially mentions the following: Chios, Lesbos, Corcyra, Zacynthus, and all the Cyclades with the exception of Melos and Thera.

§ 28. τῶν Ἀχαιῶν] Of these the Pellenians alone were favourable

to Sparta at the outset of the war (cf. Thuc. II. 9), though subsequently she was supported by the entire population.

τοῦ ἀνω βασιλέως] 'the king who lives in the interior', whose sea-board dominions (τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ) were under the control of his satraps.

εἰ δυναίμεθα] The substitution of the optative for a past tense of the indicative is remarkable, though it does not appear to have been noticed by the commentators. It is in deference to the feelings of his auditors that Xenophon avoids the indicative, which would have implied too clearly that the expedition had failed in its object.

πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων] 'should they all combine against us'.

§ 29. μαινώμεθα... ἀπολώμεθα] Notice the change of tense from the present, which denotes a continued state or action, to the more definite aorist.

δικαίως] sc. στρατεύσονται, which may be easily supplied from στρατευσόμεναι above.

βάρβαρον] The term is used somewhat loosely to include cities like *Trapezus, Sinope, Heraclea*, &c., all of which, though inhabited by a Greek population, might fairly be termed βάρβαροι in contrast with Byzantium, not only as being situated in Asia, but because, as Macmichael observes, their subjection to the Persian king had been repeatedly recognised: e.g. in the treaties of B.C. 411 and 387.

οὐδεμίαν] and not μηδεμίαν, is the negative used, because the reference is to a definite fact, and because εἰ in this connexion is virtually equivalent to ὅτι. Although, in respect of construction, the two clauses of the sentence are made of parallel importance, the point of the appeal lies mainly in the latter, which is further strengthened by a marked antithesis in the force of the verbs κατασχεῖν and ἐξαλαπάξομεν. Tr. as follows: 'if, after caring to occupy no one of the towns in Asia, we are found plundering without mercy (ἐκ) the first Greek city we come to'.

§ 30. ἐπιδεῖν] For the special force of the compound, see note on ἐπιδόντας in III. 1. 13.

ἐμέ γε... γενέσθαι] Similar prayers, though couched in a more poetic form, are found in Hom. *Il.* iv. 182, and Verg. *Aen.* iv. 24. The nearest parallel in prose is quoted by Kühner from *Cynop.* v. 5. 9, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ δοκῶ δεκάκις ἂν κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύναι ἥδιον ἢ ὀφθῆναι οὕτω ταπεινός. For the aorist infinitive after εὔχομαι, see notes on I. 2. 2 and II. 3. 20.

τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστηκόσι] The article, though it is omitted in all but the two leading MSS, is of course essential to the construction, as the reference includes the whole nation regarded as one community.

μὴ στέρεσθαι] 'at any rate not to lose our prospects of revisiting Greece'.

§ 31. ἀλλ' ἢν μὲν δυνώμεθα] I cannot at all persuade myself to accept Kühner's punctuation and rendering of this passage. Omitting the colon, which in the majority of the texts closes the earlier portion of the paragraph at the words ἐς τὴν πόλιν, he connects the clause ἢν μὲν δυνώμεθα... εὐρίσκεισθαι closely with what precedes, supplying out of it the future participle, which is to correspond with ποιήσονται in the previous sentence: a device which appears to me awkward and unscholar-

like. On the other hand, if we retain the colon after the word *πόλις* with the majority of the editors, the emphatic addition of the particle *μέν* can be explained by an ordinary *aposiopesis*, examples of which are common enough in Thucydides, Demosthenes and all the best authors. Tr. therefore as follows: 'It is from no desire to commit violence that we have entered your city: on the contrary, should we be able to obtain any favour at your hands (well and good): if not, we shall at any rate shew that it is under no deception, but rather in deference to the authorities, that we now consent to quit it'.

§§ 32—end. *A deputation is sent to Anaxibius with proposals framed in accordance with Xenophon's advice. Meanwhile a Theban adventurer, named Corvates, endeavours to obtain the command of the army. The troops are inclined at first to accept his propositions, but reject them subsequently when he is found incapable of performing his promises.*

§ 33. *καθημένῳ*] 'while the troops remained quiet'. Here again, as in VI. 2. 5, I prefer to understand the verb in its general rather than its technical sense.

Κοιρατάδης] For an account of his antecedents, cf. *Hell.* I. 3. 15. He had recently escaped from Athens, to which he had been transferred from Byzantium where he had held office up to the time of the surrender of the city. As regards the construction, the words *τὴν Ελλάδα περιήει* are to be taken in combination.

στρατηγῶν] For the force of the termination, cf. *μαθητιῶ* (Aristoph. *Nub.* 183), 'I burn to be a disciple'. Similarly in Latin we have *petiturire*, and verbs of a similar form. Cf. *Cic. ad Att.* I. 14. 7, *Luceium video valde petiturire*, 'Luceius, I see, has a sharp fit of office-fever upon him'.

ἐπαγγελλόμενος] 'proffering his services'.

εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης] The Thracian Delta lay between *Byzantium* and *Salmydessus*. This much is certain, but the authorities are not agreed as to the precise locality: Gryllus and some of the modern geographers identifying it with a fishing station situated at the point called *Delcon* or *Dercon*, while Rennell considers that it was the angular space which projects into the Euxine near *Byzantium*.

§ 34. *ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις*] The construction, which the writer had in view when he commenced the sentence, was apparently as follows: *ἀκούουσι ταῦτα... ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι*, but, in consequence of the long parenthesis which intervenes, he changes the form of it at the beginning of the next section, and leaves the dative without a governing verb. Instances of this construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν* are sufficiently common, and the nominative *εἰ στρατιῶται*, which in all but the three best MSS replaces *τοῖς στρατιώταις*, represents, it is clear, a poor attempt to correct the irregularity, though strangely enough Windorf has given it a place in his edition. Even if the motives for the alteration had been less apparent than they are, there would still be valid objections to *ἀκούουσι* as a present indicative, for in the case of this particular verb the historical tense is rarely, if ever, employed.

§ 35. *συντίθεται αὐτοῖς*] 'covenants with them'. The reading *συντάσσεται*, which appears in the majority of the MSS, is, in Schneider's

opinion, incapable of defence, the use of the verb as an equivalent for *συντίθεσθαι* being confined to Polybius and writers of a later date than Xenophon.

§ 36. *πεπράσεται*] Observe the force of the tense: 'shall be sold *then and there*'. A similar transition of moods (*ἐκήρυξεν...ἀλλῶ...πεπράσεται*) has been noticed in connexion with I. 3. 20. and IV. 1. 3.

§ 37. *ἐλαιῶν*] sc. *ἐλαιῶν* (*ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον φορτίον φέροντες*).
ὡς ἐπὶ δώσμευσιν] 'implying they were for distribution'. Cf. *ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους* (I. 2. 1).

§ 38. *διαπράξαι*] 'to arrange for him'. The use of the active implies that Cleander would be practically autocratic in obtaining for him the required permission: a force which is clearly marked by the change to the middle (*διαπραξάμενος*), when Cleander describes with less confidence his own share in the transaction.

§ 39. *εἰσιέναι...μέλλοι*] This transition from the direct to the indirect narration is still more remarkable than the one on which we commented in § 36. 'However, in case Xenophon intended to sail away in his company, his directions were that you should come into the city'.

§ 40. *εἰστήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν*] See note on *εἰστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας* in § 12.

§ 41. *ἐνέδει*] *ἔδει*, which is found in three good mss, would not supply the sense which is required by the context. Tr. 'when, however, a great failure was apparent in his promise that a day's maintenance should be forthcoming for each of the soldiers'.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1—4. *The generals who remain in command of the army differ in respect to its future destination: Phryniscus and Cleanor being in favour of joining Scuthis, while Neon proposes to go into the Chersonese, and Timasion to return to Asia. Meanwhile many of their followers are leaving them, some to return home, others to settle in the adjoining districts. Anaxibius views with pleasure the disintegration of the army.*

Φρυνίσκος] We are told in § 29 of this chapter that he held office as one of the generals, though of the time and circumstances of his election no information is afforded in the previous narrative. It is noticeable that Cleanor's name does not appear in the present list, though it is clear that he remained with the army. The omission is ascribed by Poppo to carelessness on the part of a copyist.

τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον] Kühner, as usual, would render the preposition by *prope* or *ad*. But see note on *τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας* in I. 10. 6.

§ 2. *ἔπειθε*] a strong imperfect, as in VI. 1. 19: 'was doing his best to persuade them'. For the force of *κατελθεῖν* at the end of the section, see note on *κατάγειν* (I. 1. 7).

ταῦτα ἐβούλοντο] The word *ταῦτα* refers, of course, to the proposal of Timasion. Vollbrecht edits *ταῦτά* with Zeune.

§ 3. *πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν...οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ*] The construction has

been explained in connexion with I. 8. 27, and II. 5. 5, nor does the passage as a whole present any difficulty till we reach the words *οἱ δὲ καὶ διαδόντες*, at which point almost every editor adopts a different text. The participle *διαδόντες*, which is accepted by Kühner as an evident improvement on the ordinary reading *διδόντες*, was suggested to Bornemann by the phrase *divisis* (arms), which appears in the version of Amasaëus. With this single exception Kühner prints the text as it stands, admitting even the words *κατὰ τοὺς χώρους*, which are so manifestly tautologous that I have not hesitated to enclose them in brackets. With the rest of the commentators excision has been the order of the day, from Muretus and Vollbrecht, who would omit the entire passage between *διδόντες* and *χώρους* (inclusive), to Macmichael and others, who retain the text in its integrity with the exception of the words *κατὰ τοὺς χώρους*, which they reject as an interpolation from the previous clause. We may notice as a reason for retaining *διδόντες*, *διαδόντες* or some equivalent that, in all probability, the Greeks were required to give up their arms before they were allowed by the inhabitants to settle in their country.

§ 4. *ταῦτα ἀκούων, διαφθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα*] As Dindorf, Kühner and Vollbrecht have agreed to accept this reading, which appears in the two best MSS, I have not ventured to omit the pronoun, though feeling strongly that the construction is an unusual one, and almost without parallel in classical Greek. It is clear from his note on the passage that Kühner himself entertains a similar misgiving, though he thinks that the corruption (if any) lies not so much in the pronoun *ταῦτα* as in the addition of the explanatory clause which follows it.

§§ 5—9. *At the suggestion of Anaxibius, Aristarchus, who had been appointed to succeed Cleander as harmost at Byzantium, sells five hundred of the Greeks into slavery. Indignant at finding himself supplanted by Aristarchus in the favour of Pharnabazus, Anaxibius communicates with Xenophon, advising him to collect the scattered remnants of his army and transport them with all possible speed into Asia. Xenophon rejoins the Greek troops, who welcome his arrival as the signal for a return into Asia.*

ἐν Κί[ζ]αζ] The modern *Hal Kiz*. It was colonized from Miletus about the year 750 B. C., and was situated in Mysia on the shores of the Propontis, being connected with the main-land by a system of bridges.

Π[ο]λλ[ι]ς] The name is given differently in some of the MSS. Schneider thinks it possible that an admiral called Pollis (*Hell.* v. 4. 61) is meant: a suggestion rejected by Kühner on the ground that Pollis was in office some twenty-five years later, and it is known that the Lacedæmonians never re-elected the same man to fill this post.

ὅπου οὐ παρ[ε]ῖη] 'was on the point of arriving'. For *ὅπου οὐ* some of the better MSS give the phrase *ὅπου εἶπω*. But, in addition to the fact that the more unusual combination is not found elsewhere in Xenophon, its substitution for *ὅπου οὐ* in the present passage would necessitate (as Schneider points out) the omission of *ἤδη*, a word which appears in all the MSS. Macmichael, however, and some few of the editors have adopted the latter alternative.

§ 6. ὁπόσους ἂν εὔροι] Vollbrecht prefers the more grammatical mood εὔρη, which is in this case supported by the authority of one good MS. In the note to I. 5. 9, where the manuscript evidence is altogether in favour of the optative with ἂν, I have suggested the probable explanation. Other examples of the construction are recognised in poetry (e.g. in Soph. *Trach.* 164), where the requirements of the metre would alone make any change impossible.

ἀναγκάζων] sc. τοὺς πολίτας.

§ 7. εἰς Πάριον] Now *Pario*. According to Strabo, Parium was founded conjointly by the Milesians, Parians and Erythraeans. It lay between Cyzicus and the Hellespont, and was known by the Romans as *Colonia Iulia Pariana*.

κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα] The covenant between them is mentioned in § 2 of the first chapter, and no doubt suggested to Anaxibius the scheme by which he proposes to revenge himself upon Pharnabazus in the quarrel which ensues.

§ 8. εἰς τὴν Πέρινθον] See note on II. 6. 2.

τοῖς ἵπποις] Observe the force of the article: 'with the necessary (relays of) horses'.

§§ 10—15. *Medosades has an interview with Xenophon, and endeavours to enlist him in the cause of Seuthes of Thrace. For the time his offers are rejected. At Perinthus Neon withdraws himself from the main army, and, attended by eight hundred followers, establishes a separate camp. Aristarchus arrives with two triremes, and deters Xenophon from attempting a campaign in Asia, who turns in consequence to Seuthes, and sacrifices for permission to engage in his service. Aristarchus forms a plot to arrest him, but his schemes are betrayed.*

ὅ τι ᾤετο λέγων πείσειν] 'offering promises, the mention of which he thought likely to tempt him'.

§ 11. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες] The emphatic, and also the inclusive, term: the component parts of which are afterwards enumerated separately by partitive apposition (Ἰώνων μὲν...τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα).

ἀποσπέσας] The verb is probably intransitive, as it is explained by some of the editors in a difficult passage of I. 5. 3, πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα (ἢ στρουθὸς) φεύγουσα, where Kühner's suggestion that we are to supply the words τοὺς διώκοντας appears somewhat far-fetched. Nor again in the present instance does the isolated position of the participle favour his theory that we are to understand τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ or some similar phrase out of the words which follow: ὡς ὀκτακοσίους ἀνθρώπους. Had this been the author's intention, it is difficult to see why he did not suggest it by altering the position of the participle in the sentence. In II. 2. 12 we have the passive ἀποσπασθῶμεν employed in a similar sense.

παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος] See note on παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν in II. 4. 17. The phrase ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, 'in the same place', 'together', occurs again in I. 8. 14.

§ 12. ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμωστής] Cf. τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων (II. 4. 24), and the note on the passage.

§ 13. ἔλεγεν] The imperfect, as in II. 4. 2, exercises its usual force: 'made formal statement', 'gave as his reasons', while a similar

transition from the indirect to the direct narration has been noticed in § 39 of the previous chapter.

τῇδε] 'in these parts'. Cf. VII. 6. 24, from which it appears that the town of *Perinthus*, where the Greeks were at this time encamped, was also under his authority.

§ 14. *δυντων*] See note on *προϊόντων* (I. 2. 17).

συλλήψεται] The majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht, follow the inferior MSS in reading *συλληφθήσεται*. Kühner, however, in consideration that the middle form *συλλήψεται* is found in the six leading MSS, prefers to retain it, on the assumption that it may possibly be used in a passive sense like *ὑπακούσεται* (Thuc. VI. 69) and *ἀγνοήσεται* (Dem. *de Cor.* § 249). While agreeing with him that the manuscript authority in favour of the middle is too strong to be disregarded, I cannot persuade myself to accept his solution of the difficulty, unless it were supported by stronger and more pertinent examples. On the other hand, there can be no objection to our regarding the text as an instance of those sudden transitions of subject which are so common in the *Anabasis*, and of which we have already noticed more remarkable examples, e.g. in II. 4. 2 (*οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες*), and still more decidedly in I. 4. 5, where in one and the same sentence *ἀποβιβάζειεν* refers to *Κῦρος*, *βιασάμενοι* to *οἱ ὀπλίται*, and *φυλάττειεν* to *οἱ πολέμιοι*.

αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται] a euphemism for *αὐτοῦ θανεῖται*, as in V. 3. 6.

αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν] Weiske acutely suggests that *αὐτός*, though transposed for the sake of emphasis, is in fact constructed with *βούλοιο* rather than *εἶπεν*. The change from *θῦσαι* (act.) to *ἐθύετο* (midd.) is remarkable, though quite consistent with the distinction observed by our author in his use of the voices. See notes on I. 7. 18, and IV. 6. 27.

§ 15. *παρεῖν*] The best MS gives *εἶπερ εἶν*, from which Bornemann and Dindorf have cleverly evolved the present text. Kühner is almost the only editor of note who retains the ordinary reading *προεῖν*, the objection to which he clearly recognises in the fact that it does not so much denote simple permission as a permission *which is attended with risk or loss*.

ἐνθάδε δέ] 'if he staid where he was'. The MSS fluctuate between *ἐνθα* and *ἐνθα δὴ*, the former of which is accepted by Vollbrecht, though Kühner conclusively demonstrates the weakness of the reading by shewing that (the reference being in that case to the Chersonese) the concluding words of the section (*τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἐμελλεν ἔξειν τὸ στράτευμα*) will form only a feeble repetition of the previous statement: *τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ σπάνει πάντων γενέσθαι*. In preference he edits *ἐνθάδε δέ*, the conjecture of Bornemann, to which, however, objection may perhaps be taken on the score of euphony. Indeed, I should myself prefer to read *ἐνθα δέ* in the same sense.

§§ 16—end. *The sacrifices proving favourable, Xenophon leaves Perinthus by night, attended by some of his officers, and repairs to the camp of Seuthes who gives him a hospitable welcome. They arrange the conditions on which Xenophon and the Greeks are to aid him in recovering his paternal dominions.*

νῦν μὲν] 'his instructions were that for the present they should retire, and return again later on in the afternoon'. τῆς δείλης, lit. 'in the course of the afternoon'. For an explanation of the genitive, see note on δέκα ἡμερῶν (I. 7. 18).

ἐδόκει] The inferior MSS add the infinitive εἶναι, which all the best editors have agreed to omit. The question is not of great importance, though the omission of the infinitive may possibly give greater *certainly* and *reality* to the statement, in the same way that φαίνεται οὕσα would be a stronger assertion than φαίνεται εἶναι.

§ 17. ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν] This combination is remarkable, and, I believe, without parallel in the *Anabasis*, though it does not seem to have attracted the notice of the editors. Even for the sake of euphony, and to avoid the juxtaposition of the vowels, it would have been natural to have supported the article with μὲν or some equivalent particle.

αὐτῷ] Kühner: αὐτῷ Vollbrecht, on the authority of two leading MSS. The latter reading is defensible, as the use of αὐτῷ for the reflexive pronoun is sufficiently well established. Compare, however, the text of the corresponding passage in VII. I. 18, as it appears in the best MSS, and, in particular, a note on VI. 2. 14.

εἶναι] For the infinitive in this connexion, see notes on II. 2. 3, and VI. 6. 36.

§ 18. πυροῖς ἐρήμοις] Cf. ἔρημοι πέλται (II. I. 6), and ἐρήμη πόλις (I. 5. 4).

μήτε ὅπου εἰσὶ, μήτε ὅποι ἵοιεν] In this case none of the MSS afford a practicable reading, the nearest approach to a possible text being perhaps the following: μήτε ὅποι εἰσὶ μήτε ὅποι εἶεν. Of the many conjectural emendations which have been proposed, Krüger's is, I think, the best, and I have therefore followed Kühner who gives it a place in his text. It is certainly more forcible than μήτε ὅπόσοι μήτε ὅπου εἶεν, which is accepted by Vollbrecht on the authority of Dindorf and Bornemann. Maemichael gives the passage as follows: μὴ ὀρῶντο...μὴδ' ὅπου εἶεν, for which other editors have substituted μὴθ' ὅπου εἶεν, a flagrant solecism. As regards the historical fact, it will be remembered that a similar device was adopted by the Plataeans, when they were attempting to cover their escape from the town (Thuc. III. 23), and also by Iphicrates (*Hell.* VI. 2. 29).

§ 19. ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος] Vollbrecht curiously enough edits ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, a crasis unusual in itself, and altogether at variance with Xenophon's style. Kühner treats the phrase as an ordinary example of the pregnant construction which we have so often had occasion to notice. But Bornemann, I think, is right, who regards it as a technical idiom in the sense of 'qui praeest exercitui', with which compare a corresponding use of the prepositions *ab* and *ex* in Latin.

§ 20. ἐδίωκον] 'galloped off', a force of the verb which has been already noticed in connexion with VI. 5. 25, and for which compare the comment of Phavorinus: διώκειν ἐνίστε τὸ ἀπλῶς κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαίνειν. The best editors understand ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους with the participle ἀναπηδήσαντες, and the addition of the verb ἐδίωκον points to this as the true rendering. I cannot, however, find any other instance in

which the words in question are omitted, except in cases where some previous reference had made their repetition unnecessary.

§ 21. ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις] a dative of the instrument: 'with his horses ready bridled'. The better MSS fluctuate between ἐγκεχαλινωμένους and ἐγκεχαλινωμένως, neither of which is satisfactory, though the adverb, in spite of its being a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, is defended by Poppo. The inferior MSS omit the word altogether. The dative, which is accepted by the majority of the editors including Kühner, Vollbrecht, Dindorf and Macmichael, is the conjecture of Voigtländer: Bornemann prefers the genitive, supplying αὐτῶν as in the case of προύλτων (I. 2. 17).

§ 22. Τήρης] He is apparently identical with the prince of that name who is mentioned by Thucydides (II. 29) as ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ, and as the sovereign who first consolidated the kingdom of the *Odryssae* in Thrace: ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος...πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε...βασιλεὺς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο.

ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν] 'the inhabitants of this region'. According to Weiske, the pronoun has a *deictic* force. On the other hand, the phrase may be a mere variation of the one which precedes it: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ.

Θυνοί] Their territory, which was situated in European Thrace, extended from *Apollonia* to *Salmydessus*. A comparison with the fourth chapter of the present book has enabled the editors to restore the reading of the text in place of *Βιθυνοί*, which appears in all the best MSS.

μάλιστα νυκτὸς] Kühner and Krüger take these words in combination: Macmichael, on the other hand, suggests that μάλιστα strengthens πολεμικώτατοι. Of the two interpretations, the former is decidedly the preferable; though a third alternative, which would connect the adverb with πάντων, is, I think, suggested by the rhythm and order of the sentence: 'who, far above all other tribes, have the reputation of being most formidable foes at night'.

§ 24. ἤρχετο λέγειν] For the distinction between the infinitive and the participle in this connexion, see note on III. I. 26.

διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα] Similarly in III. I. 9 we find the verb συμπορθυμῆσθαι constructed with an accusative and infinitive: καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συμπορθυμῆτο μῆναι αὐτόν.

§ 25. τὰλλὰ τέ σοι φίλῳ χρήσεσθαι] 'that in all other respects I should find in you a friend and brother, and that I should receive as a present from your hands the sea-board towns in your control'. Three good MSS suggest the following reading: τὰλλὰ τέ σε φίλῳ μοι χρήσεσθαι κ.τ.λ., which is accordingly adopted by Vollbrecht, Bornemann, Dindorf and many of the best editors. But Kühner's arguments are conclusive in favour of the text, for the reading which they propose in its place would imperatively require the addition of ὥς before φίλῳ—the meaning of the phrase χρήσθαι φίλῳ being to 'find a friend in a person' (cf. πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο in IV. 6. 3) rather than to 'treat a person as a friend'.

τὰ παρὰ θαλάττῃ] τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ is the reading of the inferior MSS,

which Kühner is inclined to prefer. But the combination in the text is the more usual one, though in place of the dative *θαλάττῃ* we might perhaps have expected an accusative of extension.

§ 27. οὔτε σοί] That σοί follows *τελεῖν* and refers to Xenophon would appear to be self-evident. Some of the inferior editors, however, understand it of Seuthes, and make it precede the infinitive.

§ 28. τί γάρ ἐλεγον] 'well—what did I say?', the γάρ being used to introduce the question, like *igitur* in Latin.

κατὰ Σηλυβρίαν] *Selybria* or *Selymbria* (for the name appears in both forms) was a city of Thrace, situated on the coast of the Propontis between *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*. Its modern name is *Silivri* or *Silivria*. Before the infinitive *διαβαίνειν* we must supply *χρῆναι* or some equivalent in contrast with the previous negation: οὐκ...οἶόν τε εἶναι.

§ 29. ἔξω εἰσὶν...ὁ πιστότατος ἐκάστω] Another example of partitive apposition. Cf. *διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστω* (I. 7. 15), which the present passage very closely resembles both in sense and construction. In both cases the idea is that of a number of persons or things taken *seriatim*. With the genitive *Νέωρος* we must, as Kühner suggests, understand ἀπὸ from the previous clause.

§ 30. κάλεσαι] Note the force of the middle: 'have them called in'. In the sentence which follows, the position of the word *ὅπλα* marks it as the emphatic word of the paragraph.

§ 31. ἂν ἀπιστήσειεν] There is little force in the objections raised by Porpo to the presence of the particle ἂν. As usual, it indicates a suppressed condition, of which Kühner suggests the following as a probable form: εἰ μὴ ὑποπτόν τι ποιήσειεν.

συγγενεῖς] It is possible that the term is used generally as an equivalent for *συμπόλιται* in reference to the fact that the Athenians had bestowed their franchise upon Sadocus, the son of Sitalcas (cf. Thuc. II. 29 and Aristoph. *Achar.* 145). Krüger, however, suggests with greater probability that the allusion is to a tradition, discredited by Thucydides but still widely prevalent, that the Thracians were directly connected with the Athenians by the marriage of one of their former princes. Cf. Thuc. II. 29, *Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκυνῃ τὴν Πανδίωνος ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶνσχόντι γυναῖκα προσῆκεν ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θράκης ἐγένοντο.*

§ 32. Μελανῶνται] On the assumption that we have the name in its correct form the tribe in question occupied a portion of the Sithonian peninsula.

ἐνδόσησεν] A poetic use of the verb, for which Kühner compares Eur. *Her. Fur.* 34,

στάσει νοσοῦσαν τήνδ' ἐπεισπεσὼν πόλιν.

The collapse of the Odrysian dynasty is mentioned in connexion with the fortunes of Seuthes, because he and his father, as subject princes, were involved in its ruin.

§ 33. νεανίσκος] Cf. II. I. 13, where I have commented on the word as restricted to persons between the ages of twenty-three and forty-one.

ἐνδιφριος] ἐν δίφροις is the reading of three good MSS, and originated

no doubt in the transposition of the letters *ι* and *ο*. According to the best authorities it was the custom of the Thracians to sit at table instead of reclining on couches. Hence the force of the compound *ἐνδίφριος* as an equivalent for *ὁμοτράπεζος*, which is still more apparent when the adjective stands alone as in § 38. The infinitive *δοῦναι* depends by a very common idiom on the idea of supplication which is contained in the previous words, the combined phrase *ἐκαθεζόμεν...ικέτης* being practically equivalent to *ἐκαθεζόμεν ἱκετεύων*.

ὁπόσους δυνατὸς εἶη] sc. *δοῦναι*.

ζῶην μὴ...ἀποβλέπων] The inferior MSS add the words *ὥσπερ κύων*, which are accordingly retained in brackets by Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors. Kühner omits them altogether, with an expression of surprise that the authority of five leading MSS should not long ago have ensured their rejection from the text.

§ 34. *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*] See note on II. 3. 23.

§ 36. *Κυζικηνὸν*] In the note to *ἐπισιτισάμενοι* (VI. 2. 4) will be found a comparative estimate of the wages received by the Greek troops at the various stages of the expedition.

§ 37. *ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων*] I have followed Kühner in retaining the manuscript reading *ὑπὸ*, though Vollbrecht, Macmichael and most of the leading editors have adopted *ἀπὸ* on the recommendation of Schäfer. That the alteration would be an improvement on the score of neatness and elegance, is, I think, unquestionable, but it can scarcely be called necessary when passages like the following can be quoted in defence of the present combination: Πανσανίας ὢν ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (Thuc. I. 130), and τοσαύτης ἔτυχε τιμωρίας ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὅσης οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων (*de venat.* I. 11). Moreover, when we consider the force of the two prepositions, it may be questioned whether *ὑπὸ* is not distinctly the more appropriate of the two in connexion with the context, for, while *φόβος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων* denotes a 'panic inspired by the Lacedaemonians', *φόβος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων* is rather a 'terrorism initiated on the part of Lacedaemon'.

§ 38. *Θρακίῳ νόμῳ*] Cf. Herod. v. 6, *ᾠνέονται (οἱ Θράκες) τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γυνέων χρημάτων μεγάλων*. That the practice in question was not confined to the Thracians is clear from Aristot. *Pol.* II. 8, *ἐσιδηροφοροῦντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλήλων*.

Βισάνθην] It was situated on the Propontis to the north-west of Perinthus, and was originally colonised from Samos. Subsequently its name was changed to *Rhaedestum* or *Rhaedestus*, which survives in the modern *Rodosto*.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—6. *Having exchanged pledges of friendship with Scuthes, the Greeks return to their camp. At daybreak a general meeting is summoned, at which all the troops appear with the exception of Neon and his division. In accordance with Xenophon's advice they determine to return for provisions before deciding between the propositions of Scuthes and Aristarchus.*

ἀπήλουνον] ‘they rode away’.

ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ] The majority of the editors retain the article : Kühner omits it on the authority of two good MSS. It appears to me essential to the context for the reasons given in the note to παρά γῆν (VI. 2. 1). The force of the plural ἕκαστοι has been explained in connexion with I. 1. 6.

§ 3. οὗτος δὲ αὐτός] Macmichael and the majority of the editors prefer οὗτος δὲ ὁ αὐτός on the strength of some inferior MSS : Vollbrecht edits the same in the form of αὐτός—a crasis which, like ἀπὸ in the previous chapter, may be at once rejected as out of keeping with the style of Xenophon. Even on internal grounds the reading of the text is, I think, to be preferred: for, while the phrase ὁ αὐτός is little better than a weak addition, the word αὐτός, as Kühner points out, emphasizes the antithesis between the *direct* commands of Aristarchus and his *indirect* opposition to their schemes in Asia.

διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους] See note on VII. 1. 14. Whether the phrase κρατεῖν ὄρους means simply to ‘gain the mountain’, as Macmichael understands it, or to ‘surmount’ and consequently to ‘pass’ it, which is the interpretation of Bornemann, is somewhat doubtful. The latter alternative is, I think, the more probable, if we compare the force of the verb *superare* in Latin, and remember that in VII. 1. 14 the mountain in question is regarded solely as an obstruction in the line of their march.

πωλήσειν] in allusion to οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδοτο (VII. 2. 6).

ἐξαπατήσασθαι] The middle used in a passive sense, as in Plat. *Phaedr.* 262 A. The passage furnishes a notable example of the sudden transitions of subject on which we have so often commented: the verbs πωλήσειν and περιώψασθαι referring to *Aristarchus*: ἐξαπατήσασθαι and λήψασθαι to the *Greeks*. There is, however, no need to complicate matters further by taking ἐξαπατήσασθαι in an active sense, as some of the editors have proposed to do.

§ 4. ἐκείνον] We should rather have expected αὐτόν, but our author is not particular in observing the usual distinction (e.g. in I. 6. 6). Possibly too, as Kühner suggests, he employs ἐκείνον in the present instance to mark more clearly the contrast between Seuthes and Aristarchus.

ἐνθάδε μένοντες] ‘whether you will settle this point before you leave this place, or first of all go back in order to secure your supplies’, i. e. εἰς κώμας...τῶν Θρακῶν τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον (VII. 2. 1).

§ 5. οἱ ἥττους] ‘(the inhabitants as) the weaker party’.

ὁ τι...δεῖται] The accusative is only indirectly connected with δεῖται: ‘for the service in which anyone requires our aid’. Cf. ἄλλο τι χρῆσθαι (II. 1. 14), and τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι (I. 3. 18).

§ 6. τῷ ἡγουμένῳ] All the editors take this as a neuter, comparing II. 2. 4, II. 4. 26 and similar passages. Notwithstanding, I prefer to regard it as a masculine: ‘follow the guidance of your general’, since there are no special circumstances in the case before us which limit the word to its technical sense, nor, indeed, is the rendering in itself a very intelligible one. As an additional reason for understanding the sentence in the way which I propose, observe the words which immediately follow: μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγήετο, οἱ δ’ εἵποντο.

§§ 7—14. *In the course of the march the troops are met by Neon and the representatives of Aristarchus, who attempt to divert them from their project. Later on, they encounter Seuthes himself, who supplies them with provisions and persuades them to engage in his service.*

εἶποι] sc. ὁ Ξεροφῶν.

§ 8. τῶν τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου] sc. Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλοι, who are mentioned in the previous section. Schneider is unquestionably right in treating the article as masculine. On the other hand, Krüger understands it to mean the 'proceeds of the Lacedæmonian', an explanation which would be natural enough if the phrase were less directly coupled with the personal pronoun σου. Moreover, if the article were neuter, it is difficult to understand why it should have been omitted with the previous genitive.

§ 10. ἑξήκοντον] Compare the remarks on § 36, and, more particularly, on VI. 2. 4. In explanation of the words τὰ νομιζόμενα, cf. VII. 2. 36, from which it appears that the λοχαγὸς received twice as much, and the στρατηγὸς four times as much, as the private soldier.

διατιθέμενος] Cf. VI. 6. 37.

§ 11. διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν] The Thracians, as Zeune points out, reserved for themselves these departments of the service because they were well supplied with cavalry, and had a special knowledge of the localities. The verb μαστεύειν, though chiefly confined to poetry, is employed repeatedly by Xenophon, e.g. in V. 6. 25.

§ 13. παντὸς ἀξία] 'the offers of Seuthes were worthy of all respect'. The phrase παντὸς ἀξία is understood thus by the majority of the editors: it is difficult, however, to see why it should not be taken in its simpler and more legitimate sense: 'worth any price', i.e. invaluable. With εἶη in the clause which follows we must supply ὅτι from the previous paragraph.

εἶρηνα] Cf. εἶρημα ἐποιήσαμην (II. 3. 18), and the note which explains it.

§ 14. ἐπιψηφίζετω] Other readings are ἐπιψηφίζεσθω and ἐπιψηφίζετε, while Krüger edits ἐπιψηφίσεσθε, a conjectural emendation. Dindorf, Vollbrecht, Kühner and Macmichael are all in favour of ἐπιψηφίζετω, which has the authority of the two leading mss. The omission of the subject is common in the case of certain officials, whose duties were so well recognised as to be suggested in each case by the meaning of the verb. Accordingly, in III. 4. 4 the word σαλπικτής is omitted with ἐσήμνηε, and again with σημῆνη in II. 2. 4. It is possible that the responsibility of proposing the formal vote may have been purposely declined by Xenophon, so that no blame might attach to him in case the expedition should fail in its objects.

§§ 15—20. *The officers in command of the Greek troops are invited by Seuthes to a banquet. On their way to attend it they are met by an official, who advises them to conciliate by presents the favour of the prince.*

§ 16. Μαρωνείτης] Maroneia was a Greek colony in Thrace, situated between Abdera and Doriscus. It is now called Maronia or Maronja.

ἐν ἐκάστῳ, οὔσιν] We may either understand τούτων before οὔσιν, or treat the construction as a species of partitive apposition,

of which we have had repeated illustrations in the converse form (e.g. οὔτοι ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει in II. I. 15). Thucydides (II. 97) notices this custom of receiving presents as a distinct characteristic of the Thracian kings, contrasting them, in consequence, with the potentates of Persia among whom the opposite rule prevailed: διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνειν.

εἴη...εἰληφέν...ἔσοιτο] Observe the interchange of the direct and indirect narrations.

§ 17. ἀμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται] Kühner suggests that we are to supply τοῦτο, sc. your gift. I think, however, that a more general word (e.g. τὰ πράγματα) will give an improved sense, and one more in keeping with the ordinary usage of the verb. Lit. 'affairs will be better arranged for you', i.e. you will find your position improved.

§ 18. τοιαῦτα προῦνᾶτο] προῦνᾶσθαι is to 'court favours on another's behalf'. 'Pleaded for Seuthes' is the rendering of Macmichael, which loses in some degree the metaphor which is the chief characteristic of the verb.

§ 19. ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων] It is supposed that Alcibiades in particular is meant from a comparison of the following authorities: *Hell.* II. I. 25, *Corn. Nep. Alc.* VII. 4, and *Plut. Alc.* cap. 36.

§ 20. ὅσον ἐφ' ὅδιον] *Sub.* εἶναι (as in the phrase ὅσον μόνον γείσασθαι in § 23) rather than ἦν, which is suggested as an alternative. Kühner compares VII. 8. 19, ἔχοντες πρὸ βᾶτα ὅσον θύματα.

§§ 21—33. *An account of the banquet. The Greeks present their offerings to Seuthes. After a short speech from Xenophon, the Thracians entertain their guests with dancing and music.*

τρίποδες] sc. *mensae tripedes*. Cf. *Aristoph. Vespr.* 1216,

ὑδωρ κατὰ χειρός· τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν.

οὔτοι δ' ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοί] A considerable number of the inferior MSS give the following reading: οὔτοι δ' ὅσον εἴκοσι κρεῶν μεστοί, which Krüger alone is in favour of retaining. The other editors regard the verb ἦσαν as an essential part of the construction. But, if the reading in question were supported by stronger manuscript authority, the omission of the verb would scarcely form an insuperable difficulty: indeed, the statement would gain considerably in force by being placed in apposition, as in the well-known phrases καὶ ταῦτα τηλικούτος (*Soph. Elec.* 614), and καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς γυναικὸς (*Aesch. Eum.* 627).

ἄρτοι ζυμητές] 'loaves of leavened bread'. The custom alluded to in the word προσπεπερονημένοι ('attached by skewers') still survives in Turkey and other eastern nations.

§ 22. κατὰ τοὺς ξένους] 'in front of their guests'. See note on κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας (I. 8. 21). The word τράπεζαι is something more than a mere equivalent for τρίποδες in the previous section, as Hutchinson shews by comparing *Poll. Onom.* VI. 84, τραπέζας δὲ ἐκάλουν καὶ τὰ σιτία τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τιθέμενα.

Σεύθης· (καὶ) ἀνελόμενος] The word καὶ is omitted by Vollbrecht and Macmichael, which is the simplest and most natural emendation of a difficult passage. By this slight alteration the sentence commencing with the participle ἀνελόμενος takes its proper place as an explanation of the pronoun τοῦτο, and the connecting particle is therefore dispensed

with in accordance with the general rule. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* π. 351 and 900. Kühner, while admitting that the pronoun can only refer to what follows, still retains the *καί* as an 'explanatory particle', a suggestion which is somewhat suspiciously adapted to meet the requirements of the present passage.

§ 23. εἶα χαίρειν] 'neglected it', 'would have none of it'. For the phrase ὅσον τριχοῦνικον, cf. ὅσον ἐξακόσιοι (I. 8. 6), and a doubtful reading ὅσον εἴκοσι in § 21.

§ 28. ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ...ἔχω] 'so that I for instance...'. Observe the transition from a purely general statement to the particular case which the speaker has in view.

§ 29. τί ποιήσει] So Kühner and Vollbrecht with the two leading mss: Macmichael on the other hand retains the optative ποιήσῃσι, a mood which, as Kühner points out, cannot correctly be used in the future to express *doubt* or *hesitation* in regard to a coming event.

§ 30. ὑποπεπωκώς] 'was somewhat far gone in his cups'. See note on ὑπέφαινε in II. 4. 7 and again in IV. 2. 7.

§ 31. προῖέμενοι] All the commentators without exception understand this participle in an absolute sense, regarding it as a mere equivalent for the fuller phrase προῖέμενοι ἑαυτοῦς. I can find, however, no passage which in the least degree warrants this explanation: the verb being usually constructed with a simple accusative (e.g. ἔρανον in Thuc. II. 43, εὐεργεσίαν in Plat. *Gorg.* 520 C), for which a participial clause is sometimes substituted (e.g. ἡμᾶς προσέσθαι ἀδικουμένους in Thuc. II. 73), and occasionally an explanatory infinitive such as frequently follows the verb παρέχειν. Of this latter construction we have an example in Lys. 130 *ad fin.* (ἀγειν προσέσθαι). Dealing with the present passage on the same principle, I should connect the verbs πονεῖν and προκινδυνεύειν with the participle προῖέμενοι, treating ἐθέλοντες as an independent adjunct: 'nay, they freely dedicate to you the service of labouring on your behalf with a ready will'.

πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν . . τὴν δὲ] For the construction, see note on VI. 4. 3 (χώριον, τὸ μὲν . . ὃ δὲ αὐχὴν).

§ 32. συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας] 'and, simultaneously with Xenophon, emptied what was left in the beaker upon his person'. The custom in question is referred to by Plato as follows in *Legg.* I. 637 E: Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θράκες ἀκράτῳ παντάπασι χρώμενοι γυναῖκες τε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων καταχεόμενοι καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύειν νονομίκασι. In determining the reading of the passage before us, our choice practically lies between Kühner's text, which I have adopted in the present edition, and that of Dindorf and Vollbrecht which stands thus: κατεσκεδάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρας. The objections to the former reading are, as a rule, based upon the ground that it implies the participation of Xenophon in a custom of which, as a stranger, he was presumably ignorant. We must remember, however, that the compound συγκατεσκεδάσατο, which is practically decisive on the point, appears in five leading mss, and in a transcript of the passage contained in Athenaeus, while we shall hardly be rash in supposing that Xenophon may have had prior intimation of the ceremonies to be observed at the feast.

εἰσηλθόν] *Sub.* ἄνδρες or τυτές, either of which may be supplied from the participle αἰλοῦντες. εἰς σημαίνουν, ‘of the kind used for giving signals in war’.

ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον μαγὰδι σαλπίζοντες] ‘playing tunes with their trumpets and airs like those which are produced by the harp’. According to the best authorities, the *magalis* was a three-cornered instrument, like a harp, with twenty strings arranged in octaves.

§ 33. ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικόν] ‘raised a war-cry’.

§§ 34—end. *At the close of the entertainment watches are set for the night, and Sauthes calls a meeting of the Greek officers to whom he proposes an immediate attack upon his foes before they should gain information of his new alliance. Having adopted the suggestions of Xenophon as to the disposition of his troops, he commences his march upon the enemy at midnight, surprising them in their villages and securing an easy victory.*

παραγγέλλαι ὅπως...εἰσαίει] The construction is analogous to that of παρασκευάζειν, ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ὅπως in combination with a future indicative, for which see note on I. I. 4. In both cases attention is drawn to the *method* rather than to the *purpose* of the action—to the character of the order rather than the object which it contemplates.

ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν] Observe the transition to the direct narration, and consult the note on § 28. The best editors all concur in this reading in place of ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν which is found in the inferior mss, though the latter, understood as follows, presents a very intelligible sense: ‘for our enemies are of Thracian descent, and so likewise are you our friends’. Of the various interpretations which have been proposed of the reading in the text, I much prefer Dindorf’s: ‘for *your* enemies are of Thracian descent, and so likewise are *our* friends’. In either case, the motive for the order is equally clear, since, in the event of an attack by night, the friendly Thracians in the Greek camp might easily have been mistaken for foes.

§ 35. οὐδὲν ἔτι] This adverbial use of οὐδέν, on which we have recently commented, occurs again in VII. 6. 26.

ἀποκαλέσας] μεταστρώσας or μεταστρώμενος is the more usual verb in this connexion, ἀποκαλεῖν being rarely found except in the secondary sense of ‘reviling’ (e.g. in *Mem.* I. 2. 57).

§ 37. εἶπερ νεκτὸς ποταμοῦ] For the special force of εἶπερ, see note on VI. I. 26. In brief, it states the case as an *assumption*, while εἴγε states it as a *fact*. The sentence is an inelegant one owing to the juxtaposition of εἶπερ...εἰ, for which, however, compare III. 2. 31 (ἦν δέ τις ἀπειρή, ἦν ὑψηλὸς ἔσθι), and other similar passages to which I have called attention in the introduction. Exception may likewise be taken to the use of εἰ for ὅτι in this and similar cases (e.g. in III. 2. 22) on the score of ambiguity—a difficulty which Thucydides and the best authors have studiously avoided by employing it only in combinations which either fix or restrict the application. For example, in III. 2. 17, where the same idiom is repeated, it will be found that the introduction of the negative in the previous clause relieves the sentence of any chance of misconstruction.

ἡγάται] The nominative is to be sought for in what follows: ‘that

portion of the army leads which in each particular case may be best adapted to the requirements of the country'. In III. 4 §§ 18—23 a still more elaborate arrangement of the troops is devised for the purpose of securing a close and compact order during the march through an enemy's country.

περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις] 'fall foul of one another'. The verb is a favourite one with Herodotus and Thucydides (e.g. Herod. VIII. 16. 89, Thuc. II. 65) for describing the confusion caused in a sea-fight by cumbrous or badly-maneuvred vessels.

§ 39. εἶπον] sc. Seuthes and Xenophon: indeed, the other nominatives which have been proposed (e.g. the *Taracians*, as Macmichael suggests, or *Seuthes and his generals*, which is Vollbrecht's explanation) are, I think, entirely out of keeping with the context.

κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν] 'in token of the affinity between them'. The form Ἀθηναίων is in the main a poetic one, occurring most frequently in Aristophanes (e.g. in *Av.* 1652, *Equit.* 760), but used also by Plato in *Euthyd.* p. 82. 12. In the present instance it appears in three out of the five leading MSS., and is very clearly suggested in all the remainder.

§ 41. καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος] 'even when he had been marching with a small company'.

σκεψάμενός τι ἤξω] 'I will reconnoitre the country, and be back anon'. For the force of εἴη...ἡγούμενα, see note on ἦν δυναμένη (II. 2. 13).

§ 44. κατιδῶν] The force of the compound is less certain than in I. 8. 26 and IV. 3. 11, though the usual rendering ('having described the villages') is by no means inappropriate in connexion with the context. It is possible, however, that the addition of the words ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις may be a reason for understanding the preposition in its primary sense: 'having looked down upon the villages'.

καταθεῖν] Epexegetic: 'to gallop down into the plain'.

§ 46. τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη] Of all the passages which have been quoted in confirmation of the theory that Xenophon at the present time can have been little more than thirty years of age, the one before us is perhaps the strongest and the most conclusive.

ἐτρόχαξε] Though repeatedly used by Xenophon, and once, at any rate, by Herodotus (IX. 66), the verb τροχάξαι is discountenanced in prose by the pure Atticists. Cf. Lob. *Phryn.* 582, and Bek. *Anecd. Gr.* τροχάξαι σὺ φασὶ δεῖν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τρέχειν.

§ 47. τάδε δὴ...ᾧ σὺ ἔλεγες] There is considerable difficulty in determining the particular speech of Xenophon to which this passage refers. The best authorities discover in the words ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔρημοι κ.τ.λ. an allusion to the advice tendered by Xenophon in §§ 37 and 38. But in neither of these sections do we find any statement that altogether justifies this explanation, though they contain, it is true, a general warning against the dangers to which troops are exposed by dispersion and isolation. Still less satisfactory is the suggestion offered by Bornemann, that the words ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι contain the point of the allusion, the subject of which may, he thinks, be found in the casual prediction of success mentioned in § 31: πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας κατακτήσῃ.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ] = *at enim*. See note on III. 2. 25.

ἐρημοί] 'alone', 'unprotected', nor is there any warrant for taking the adjective in an active sense, as some of the editors have suggested in consideration of the context. Cf. ἐρημοί ἄμαζαι in II. 1. 4, ἐρήμη πόλις in I. 5. 4 and the more difficult expression σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους in II. 4. 27. In ἄλλος ἄλλη διώκων we have another instance of *partitive apposition* (cf. II. 1. 15), while μοι is an ethic dative, like αὐτῷ in the following sentence: οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεϊς αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο (I. 2. 4).

§ 48. συνηλισθησαν] This plural does not necessarily come under the same category with ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα (I. 4. 4), and the passages on which I have commented in the introduction. Not only is the masculine βόες included among the subjects to which it refers, but the substantive ἀνδράποδα is in itself equivalent to a masculine noun.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—6. *Scuthes burns the captured villages, and forwards the plunder to Perinthus to be disposed of by sale. Severity of a Thracian winter. The dress of the inhabitants. A message is sent to the mountain tribes requiring their submission. Those who refuse are attacked in their villages, and all who are captured are slain.*

οἷα πείσονται] Observe the transition of mood, and compare by way of illustration ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν in II. 1. 2.

§ 2. διατίθεται] Cf. VI. 6. 37. The infinitive is equivalent in sense to ὥστε διατίθεται, and is added on the same principle as καταθεῖν, on which we commented in § 44 of the previous chapter. It will be observed that the true order of the words is as follows: ἀπέπεμψε Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Πέρινθον διατίθεται τὴν λείαν, though the accusative λείαν, as the emphatic word, is used to introduce the sentence.

ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδίου] This particular preposition is used as being the most general and indefinite of all those which are employed to denote locality. Cf. ἀνὰ δῆμον (Hom. II. II. 144), ἀνὰ σκότον 'amid the gloom' (Thuc. VII. 44). The accusative πεδίου must be supplied anew with ἐκλιπόντες in the following sentence.

§ 3. οὕτως] To be taken independently: 'cold to such an extent, of such severity': a construction which is exactly reproduced in Thuc. III. 81, οὕτως ὡμὴ στάσις προῖχώρησε, 'to such lengths did cruel sedition go', where some of the editors have been led into the mistake of connecting οὕτως with the adjective, taking no account of the omission of the article.

ὁ οἶνος ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις] Cf. Verg. Georg. III. 364, *caeduntque securibus humida vīna*.

§ 4. τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας] Cf. Ov. Trist. III. 10. 19:

*Pellibus et sutis arcent mala frigora braccis,
Oraque de toto corpore sola patent.*

χειρὰς] The χειρὰ or σειρὰ (for the word appears in both forms) is supposed by the best authorities to have been a long cloak, which differed from the Greek *chlamys* mainly in the fact that it covered the feet

of the wearer, and was fastened round the loins instead of round the neck. It is mentioned by Herodotus (VII. 69) as forming part of the Arab costume.

§ 5. τῶν αἰχμαλώτων] A partitive genitive, like σταθμῶν in I. 5. 7.

ὅτι... ὅτι] The repetition is inelegant, and, as I have noticed in the introduction, betrays a careless and inartistic style. But the reappearance of the construction in this particular book is important, for, viewed in connexion with its occurrence in earlier portions of the work (e.g. II. 2. 17 and V. 6. 19), it supplies a strong argument in support of the theory that the entire *Anabasis*, in the form in which we possess it, was in fact the work of one hand.

τῷ λιμῷ] The force of the article is probably what Kühner suggests: 'they would die by the famine that would ensue'.

ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος] An accusative of *extension*, of which we have had repeated examples in connexion with παρά and ἐπί.

§§ 7—10. *An episode in the campaign.*

Ἐπισθένης... Ὀλύνθιος] To judge from a notice in I. 2. 6, it is probable that Episthenes joined the army in the train of Menon, the Thessalian.

§ 8. λόχον ποτὲ συνελέξατο] It will be remembered that the famous company of Epaminondas, called the ἱερὸς λόχος, consisting of 600 men, was enrolled on a somewhat similar principle.

§ 10. αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου] We should naturally have expected ἀντ' ἐαυτοῦ, nor does the passage quoted by Kühner in illustration of the text from IV. 3. 20 (καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ) present the irregularity in so striking a form, because the clearness of the statement, which comes directly from the author, precludes any possibility of misconstruction. Other examples of this usage will be found in the introduction, notably one from II. 5. 38, αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φησιν ἐπεὶ περ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου.

§§ 11—15. *The troops encamp in the neighbourhood: Scuthes and his followers going down to the plain, while the inhabitants of the mountains are held in check by Xenophon and the Greeks. Under cover of desiring a truce, the enemy make their preparations, and attack the camp by night.*

ὄρεῖς καλουμένοις] 'the Highlanders, as they are called'. Similarly, the Athenians of old were subdivided into the *Pedieans*, *Paralians* and *Diacrians*: the last-named tribe being the inhabitants of the uplands, and their title (δὲ ἄκριας) synonymous with *δρειοὶ* in the text.

§ 12. καὶ... διεπράττοντο] The conjunction in this idiom has the force of 'when'. Compare the opening sentence of II. 1. 7.

σκηνῶν] This form is either read or suggested in the five leading MSS: σκηνοῖεν in two inferior ones. In commenting upon the text Kühner notices that Xenophon uses indifferently all the three forms σκηνᾶν, σκηνεῖν and σκηνοῦν.

ἐν ἐχυροῖς ἢ χωρίοις] The present is one of the few instances in which the reading of the two leading MSS is discredited by Kühner, the word *ἐτέροις*, which they exhibit in place of *ἐχυροῖς*, being unquestion-

ably weak in the extreme. I am inclined, however, to follow them as regards the omission of the word *ἂν* before *χωρίως*, which, though forcible enough in position, is certainly not essential to the construction, and damages, moreover, the rhythm of the sentence. It is omitted by Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors, but retained by Kühner.

στεγνοῖς ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι] ‘under cover, but at the risk of their lives’. The clause *ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι* limits or qualifies the adjective *στεγνοῖς*. This explanation of the construction appears to me simpler and more natural than the one proposed by Macmichael: *μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς (οὕτως αὐλίζεσθαι) ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι*.

§ 13. *κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα*] ‘as an excuse for spying out the camp’. For the force of *ἄρα*, cf. IV. 2. 15.

§ 14. *μεγάλοις σταυροῖς*] ‘a strong palisade’. As in IV. 5. 14 and other passages, *καὶ γὰρ* confirms the statement and gives the reason: the entrance through the stockade being difficult of access except to one acquainted with it like the master of the house.

§ 15. *ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας*] ‘found themselves at the doors’. It is strange how persistently Kühner follows up his original error in regard to the force and interpretation of this preposition. See note on I. 10. 6. In the present instance he discovers a special force in the verb *γίγνεσθαι* to justify the idea of motion which he finds in the preposition.

ἔφασαν] The nominative to *ἔφασαν* is understood by Kühner and others to be the Thracians who are conducting the attack. Interpreted thus as a formal declaration of their purpose, the statement becomes singularly feeble and pointless, and I prefer to understand it more generally of the reports circulated by the captives and others: ‘which, it was said, these tribes carried with them for the purpose of breaking off the spear-points from the shafts’. Cf. *ἔλεγον* in VII. 5. 13.

§§ 16—end. *Being defeated by the Greeks with great loss, and finding that the success of Scuthes is followed by offers of help on the part of the adjoining tribes, the enemy tender their submission, which is accepted in accordance with Xenophon’s advice.*

Μακέστιος] *Macestus* (or *Macistus*, as the name is commonly spelt) was a town in the Triphylian district of Elis, not far from *Scillus*. It is now called *Moskitza*. Why Silanus obtains the honour of this mention is not clear. Possibly, as Macmichael suggests, because he was well known in the immediate neighbourhood of Scillus, where our author in all probability compiled his account of the Retreat. Schneider considers that he is noticed only on account of his extreme youth: others, on account of the presence of mind which he displayed at this particular crisis.

ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη] The construction is usually regarded as analogous to that of *ἐστιγμένοις ἀνθέμια* in V. 4. 32. More probably, it is only another instance of the passive employed as a middle, examples of which have been noticed in I. 3. 10, IV. 7. 1, while a still more remarkable case occurs in Dem. *αὐν. Androt.* 617, *οὗτος τοῖνυν ἀνελὼν τὰ τῆς δόξης κτήματα, τὰ τοῦ πλούτου πεποιήται μικρὰ καὶ οὐχ ὑμῶν ἀξία*.

§ 17. *περιβαλλόμενοι*] Krüger explains the participle as equivalent

to περιδοῦντες. That the shield was by some means fastened to the back is clear, if only from the statement which follows: *κρεμασθέντες ἐνεχομένοι τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς*.

§ 18. *τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιομένην*] 'discharged their javelins out of the darkness and into the light at those who were hurrying past some house that was in flames'. There is considerable doubt as to the true reading of the proper names which follow. The word *Εὐδοέα* is a strange and improbable one, whether it stands alone (as in Kühner's text), or whether we connect it with *Ἱερώννυμον* by omitting the *καί*, as Dindorf and Vollbrecht have suggested. Other passages, as Kühner points out, describe Hieronymus as an inhabitant of Elis. It is therefore not improbable that the word *Εὐδοέα* contains in a corrupt form some reference to his native town, like *Λοκρῶν* which follows with the second name.

§ 19. *τοῖς πρώτοις*] 'the first he could muster'. The verb *ἤσθετο* refers to the first intelligence which he received of the danger that threatened the Greeks.

§ 20. *αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι*] sc. *στρατεύεσθαι*.

§ 24. *ἀλλ' ἔγωγε...νομίζω*] See note on II. I. 4. The phrase *δίκην ἔχειν* means to 'have satisfaction'. Cf. *ἔχω παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην* in Herod. I. 45. As Sturz points out, the construction would have necessitated the addition of *αὐτοὺς* or *τούτους*, if *δίκην ἔχειν* were equivalent to *puniri* as in II. 5. 38.

οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ πάντες] 'all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood'.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—6. *The Greeks cross over into the Delta, where Heracleides joins them with the money obtained by the sale of the plunder. The amount proving insufficient for the pay of the soldiers, Xenophon lays the blame on Heracleides who becomes in consequence his bitter enemy.*

εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον] See note on VII. I. 33.

οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισάδου] 'was not from this point comprised in the kingdom of Maesades'. It is clear from this statement, as Macmichael points out, that the Greeks had already effected their object in recovering for Seuthes the power which had been held by his father Maesades. The Delta, which they were now entering, had not formed a part of the empire in question, and was consequently not included in their arrangement with Seuthes, although at some former period it had been governed by one of his ancestors. Such, in brief, appears to be the meaning of this difficult passage, from which Krüger proposes to eliminate the words *ἀρχαίου τινός* on the supposition that they originated in a gloss. Whether we understand the *Teres* of the present text to be the prince of that name mentioned in VII. 2. 22, or an earlier representative of the same family, is comparatively of trifling import. I am inclined, however, to regard them as identical, for, in a purely general allusion like the present, the word *ἀρχαίου* is a fair equivalent for the more precise term *πρόγονος* which appears in the earlier passage.

§ 3. *καὶ αὖθις*] 'even later on', 'even at some future time'. For the force of *αὖθις*, cf. V. 4. 20.

§ 4. καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν] sc. τῶν ἡμιονικῶν, which Krüger has needlessly introduced into the text, since the substantive, when it stands alone, would naturally bear this meaning, independently of the contrast which is implied in the words which follow: τὰ δὲ βοεῖκὰ ζεύγη.

οὐ πλεῖον ἐμπολήσαι] 'he had not sold more of the spoil' is the rendering preferred by Kühner, and the majority of the editors: indeed, the former authority expressly objects to the more convenient interpretation, on the ground, apparently, that it would require a genitive of the price. I cannot myself see the force of the objection, as ἐμπολᾶν does not so much denote the simple act of sale, as the profit that is made by the transaction, and in this sense may fairly be followed by a direct accusative: 'he had only made that amount by his trading'.

§ 5. προσδανεισάμενος] 'even though you had borrowed the extra sum'.

§§ 7—II. *The anger of all is turned upon Xenophon—his own troops being indignant with him for not securing their pay, and Sauthes for the persistency with which he advocates their claims. Under these circumstances, it is proposed to continue the campaign without him. His officers, however, meet this proposition with a direct refusal, and it was not till Xenophon had been consulted and his consent obtained that the armies continue their march.*

§ 8. ὥς... παραδώσει] The infinitive appears in two good MSS, and is retained by Kühner and Vollbrecht, while the indicative παραδώσει has excellent manuscript authority, and is on all accounts far preferable to παραδώσοι, which is the remaining alternative. In defence of the reading παραδώσειν Kühner instances the following passage in III. 1. 9, εἶπε δὲ ὅτι... ἀποπέμψειν, where, however, he himself edits ἀποπέμψει, declining to follow Bornemann, who, on the strength of the leading MS, prefers the infinitive. Under these circumstances, and finding that Kühner himself has declared for the indicative in the parallel passage, I have decided to retain it in both cases, though it would be quite possible to defend the infinitive, if necessary, on the analogy of ἤδειν ὅτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας in III. 1. 20, and other mixed constructions like those we have already noticed in VI. 1. 23, VI. 4. 18, and especially Soph. *Trach.* 1238,

ἀνὴρ ὃδ' ὥς ἔοικεν οὐ νεμεῖν ἐμοί
φθίνοντι μοῖραν.

Βισάνθην] See note on VII. 2. 38. *Ganus* (the name of which remains unchanged) was situated on the *Propontis* to the south of *Bisanthe*: *Neontichus*, between *Ganus* and *Selybria* in the immediate neighbourhood of the former town. *Bisanthe* and *Neontichus* were among the places appropriated to Alcibiades, a transaction which has already been alluded to in connexion with VII. 3. 19.

τοῦτο διαβεβλήκει] 'had insinuated this to his prejudice'.

§ 9. ἔτι ἄνω] 'still further inland'.

ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν] See note on σταθμῶν in II. 2. 11, and δέκα ἡμερῶν in I. 7. 18. All the MSS, with the exception of the one which stands first in authority, exhibit the word ἐντὸς before ὀλίγων, though it is omitted or bracketed by Kühner and the majority of the editors as an evident interpolation. Vollbrecht, on the contrary, retains it: nor can I

myself appreciate the reasons which have led to its rejection. The juxtaposition of another and a differently constructed genitive (*δυοῖν μνηοῖν*) may have induced the author to add the preposition for the sake of clearness, though this same probability might, I know, be made use of to account for its interpolation.

§ 11. *πανουργίαν*] 'knavery', 'cunning'. The equivalent in Latin is *malitia*, which, together with the corresponding adjective, is regularly employed in this sense by the Roman comedians, and also by Cicero, e.g. in the opening chapter of the *Or. pro Caccina*.

§§ 12—end. *The combined forces arrive at Salmydessus. An account of the wreckers who occupy the coast. Having effected their purpose, the troops return, and form a camp in the neighbourhood of Selybria. The discord between Scuthes and Xenophon increases, as also the discontent of the soldiers at the deficiency of their pay.*

Μελινοφάγων] 'millet-eaters'. A tribe which inhabited the eastern portion of the *Little Balkhan* range, identical, apparently, with the *Asti* of Strabo (VII. 442), and of Pliny (IV. 18). *Salmydessus* or *Ἀλμυδησσός*, as it is given by the later writers, was the name which distinguished a long range of coast extending from the promontory of *Thynias* to the mouth of the Bosphorus. The city itself (now called *Midiyah*) was situated just below the above-mentioned promontory. For the bad reputation in which the locality was held, cf. Aesch. *Prom. Vincit.* 726,

*τραχεῖα πόντου Σαλμυδησία γνάθος
ἐχθρόξενος ναῦταισι, μητρὶά νεών.*

δκελλουσι] The verb is used indifferently in a transitive and intransitive sense. For the former, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 438,

καὶ δὴ πέφρασμαι· δεῦρο δ' ἐξοκέλλεται.

§ 13. *στήλας ὀρισάμενοι*] The expedient suggests comparison with the custom so frequently cited in Demosthenes (e. g. in § 876, 9) of setting up *ὅροι* (elsewhere described as *στήλαι*) to define the boundaries of a mortgaged property.

ἐκαστοι] See note on II. 2. 17. The verb *ἐλεγον* in this connexion (for which *ἐλέγοντο* is read in the inferior MSS) is, in point of force and construction, very nearly akin to *ἔφασαν* in VII. 4. 15. As in the former case, the omission of a special nominative accords well with the vague and indefinite character of the statement, a device which has been modernised by the French in their phrase *on dit*. Similarly, and for the same reason, we find the nominative omitted with *ἔφασκε* in *z.* 114 of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*:—

*θεωρός, ὡς ἔφασκεν, ἐκδημῶν, πάλιν
πρὸς οἶκον οὐκ ἔθ' ἔκεθ', ὡς ἀπεστάλη.*

§ 14. *βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι*] The word *γεγραμμέναι*, which is added (or suggested by the form *γεγραμμένοι*) in the five leading MSS, can only refer to written documents. It is consequently retained in this sense by Kühner, Vollbrecht, Krüger and Macmichael, though the last-named authority has enclosed it in brackets. Zeune and Weiske omit the

participle altogether, and understand βίβλοι to mean either *paper* or *rolls of bark*, while Larcher proposes to alter the reading into πολλά δὲ βυβλία, which would signify *cordage* or *cables*. Krüger finds no difficulty in the text on the ground that books were by this time plentiful in Greece, and would naturally have made their way into the colonies.

τεύχεσι] ‘cases’ or ‘boxes’. It is not clear why this explanation is added: possibly, as indicating the value of the MSS rather than to account for their floating ashore, which is the suggestion of some of the commentators.

§ 15. οἱ αἰὲν πειθόμενοι] ‘those who, as time went on, gave in their submission’.

§ 16. ὁπότε...ἔλθοι] a frequentative optative.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—6. *Commissioners arrive at the camp with a message from Thibron requiring the cooperation of the Greek troops in a campaign against Tissaphernes. Heracleides recommends Seuthes to take advantage of the opportunity for dismissing his allies. The commissioners are hospitably entertained, and, in accordance with the advice of Heracleides, determine to ignore the presence of Xenophon and to address themselves directly to the troops.*

Θίβρωνος] Both Θίμβρων and Θίβρων are recognised forms of the name, the latter occurring most frequently in the *Anabasis*, while in the *Hellenics* the former is, by Poppo’s account, invariably used. He had been sent out by the Lacedaemonians as harmost with a force of 4500 men.

στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρην] The campaign was undertaken at the instance of the Asiatic Greeks, against whom Tissaphernes was meditating vengeance for the favour they had shewn to Cyrus and his followers.

§ 2. ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα] ‘to fetch the army’. Cf. ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερρον in VI. 2. 2.

κάλλιστον γεγένηται] ‘that it was a most fortunate occurrence’.

§ 3. φίλος τε] It is only on rare occasions that we find the word τε used, as in the passage before us, to couple two clauses of a sentence. In 1. 9. 5, however, we have noticed another example: τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις... (ἐδόκει) μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, though it reads more awkwardly in the present passage owing to the juxtaposition of καί, with which, at first sight, one might be tempted to connect it.

ἐπὶ ξένια] which is the ordinary reading, is retained by Vollbrecht, Krüger and other good editors, while ἐπὶ ξενία is preferred by Kühner, Hutchinson and Macmichael on the authority of the leading MS. I have myself adopted the former reading because the phrase ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν is found repeatedly both in inscriptions and elsewhere, while it appears to be extremely doubtful whether ἐπὶ ξενία καλεῖν without some qualifying adjunct can bear the sense which is required by the context. On the assumption that the phrase ἐπὶ ξενία had become practically equivalent to ξενίως or φιλίως, we may be prepared to accept the ex-

pression ἐπὶ ξενία ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς in VI. 1. 2 as complete in itself without admitting that it justifies so bald a combination as ἐπὶ ξενία καλεῖν.

§ 4. χεῖρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ] ‘it fares worse with him’. The statement is noticed and explained in § 39 of the present chapter. In the question which follows, the words ἀλλ’ ἦ, by which it is introduced, are equivalent in force to the Latin *an ergo*. The verb *δημαγωγεῖν* is hardly ever used except in reference to persons who court popularity by unfair and unprincipled schemes. Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 419, Aristot. *Pol.* V. II. 33.

§ 5. ἀρ’ οὖν...μὴ] = *numne*, inasmuch as it suggests a negative reply, but implies at the same time an apprehension as to the result: ‘you do not think that he will oppose us, will he?’ The omission of the preposition *περὶ* before τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς, which is authorised by three of the leading MSS, and by the majority of the editors with the exception of Dindorf, Bornemann and Macmichael, need occasion us no real difficulty. Instances of the same construction are common in poetry (e.g. in Soph. *Trach.* 928 and 1122), in addition to which Poppo quotes an exactly parallel passage from Thuc. I. 136: ἐκείνῳ χρεῖας τινὸς ἐναντιωθῆναι. In the other cases to which Kühner refers the peculiarity is less strikingly marked owing to the employment in each instance of the verbs ἀμφισβητεῖν or ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, the formation of which would sufficiently account for the genitive.

ἀλλ’ ἦν ὑμεῖς] The force of ἀλλά has been explained in the note on II. 1. 20.

προσχόντες] sc. τὸν νοῦν, as in II. 4. 2. There is some doubt as to the spelling of the participle. Hermann and others would double the sigma (e.g. in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 79), while Elmsley and Lobeck prefer the form adopted in the text.

§§ 7—38. *Accordingly on the morrow the commissioners are introduced to the army. After a short speech from the former, an Arcadian rises and accuses Xenophon of having enriched himself at the expense of the troops. The accusation is supported by other speakers. Xenophon makes his defence.*

§ 8. ἐν ἐπηκόῳ] See note on II. 5. 38.

§ 9. καὶ πάλαι αὖ ἡμεν παρ’ ὑμῖν] Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 86,

ἀλλ’ εἴμι, μήτερ· εἰ δὲ θεσφάτων ἐγὼ
βάξιν κατήδη τῶνδε, καὶ πάλαι παρῇ.

πεπαύμεθα] ‘we have in no wise ceased’: οὐδέν, which is by construction an accusative of respect, being used adverbially as in VI. 6. 12. Kühner, Dindorf, Poppo and Vollbrecht have adopted the reading of the text, which appears in all the MSS without the slightest trace of a variant. A large number of the remaining editors have accepted the conjecture πεπαύμεθα, being in doubt, apparently, as to the adverbial use of οὐδέν in this connexion, a subject on which I have already commented in the note to VI. 6. 12. It is clear, however, that, in the case of the present author, no weight can be attached to this objection, as precisely the same construction has been met with in IV. 4. 10, οὐδέν επαύσαντο δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους, to which we may add the phrase οὐδὲν ἄχθεσθαι, which occurs only a few lines below.

τοὺς ἡμετέρους πόνους] ‘the fruits of our labours’, a use of the abstract for the concrete which Macmichael illustrates from Eur. *Phoen.* 30, τὸν ἐμὸν ὠδίνων πόνον Μαστοῖς ὑφείτο.

§ 10. ὃ γε πρῶτος λέγων] These words, as Kühner points out, are intended to emphasize the fact that the present speaker takes upon himself the full responsibility of the accusation, whatever may be the course adopted by those who follow him in the debate. Accepting this explanation I have followed the editors in omitting the verb ἔφη on the authority of the two leading MSS, notwithstanding it appears in all the rest.

ὣν ἡμᾶς περιέλλκε] ‘for the way in which he has been dragging us about’. ὁμοίως in the succeeding sentence is ‘with the same purpose’, i.e. with words to the same effect.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου] The majority of the MSS give ἐκ δὲ τούτων. The question has been raised into importance by Poppo, who points out that, where the reference is merely to a sequence *in time*, the singular only is admissible.

§ 11. ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα] ‘well—there is nothing, it seems, that one may not anticipate’. A similar combination of particles is found in *Cyrop.* II. 1. 4, ἀγωνιστέον μὲν ἄρα ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας.

ἐν ᾧ] ‘in a case in which’. Kühner (wrongly, I think) prefers to connect the words thus: νῦν ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.λ.

οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία οὔτοι] This repetition of the negative is exactly paralleled in Soph. *Ai.* 970,

θεοῖς τέθνηκεν οὔτος, οὐ κείνοισιν, οὔ.

In the passage before us the former of the two negatives is omitted by all the MSS with the exception of five. I cannot at all agree with Kühner that this change is admissible without damage to the construction merely because οὔτοι follows: on the contrary, if either of the two were to be condemned as superfluous, it would unquestionably be the latter.

§ 12. ὅθεν] in reference to *Perinthus*.

§ 15. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν] For the force of the particles, cf. I. 9. 20, φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο κ.τ.λ.

εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ αὐτόν] ‘on the assumption that I do praise him’. This transition to the indicative mood (for which cf. v. 6. 12) is an effective device for giving greater reality to the hypothesis in question.

περὶ ᾧ] In his note to the passage Kühner suggests that περὶ ᾧ may be equivalent either to περὶ τούτων περὶ ᾧ or περὶ τούτων ᾧ διαφέρομαι. A third alternative is possible, and one which is simpler and more effective: i.e. to understand the relative as a masculine, and refer it directly to ὑμῶν, ‘on whose account (i.e. for the protection of whose interests) I am incurring his dislike’.

§ 16. τεχνάζειν] ‘that it is possible for me to have received what is due to you from Seuthes, and to be practising an artifice’. In the sentence which follows, the majority of the MSS introduce ὅτι before εἴπερ, which is retained by Macmichael and a considerable number of the editors, but omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of four good MSS. The question must virtually be decided by the external

evidence, as the omission of *ὅτι* has simply the effect of making *οὕτως* *ἐτέλει* κ.τ.λ. a *principal* instead of a *dependent* clause—the words *οὐκοῦν* *δηλον* *τοῦτό* *γέ* *ἐστίν* becoming thereby independent of the construction, like *οἶμαι* in the passage quoted by Kühner from v. 8. 22, *οἶμαι* *γάρ*, *εἰ* *ἐθέλετε* *σκοπεῖν*, *τοὺς* *αὐτοὺς* *εὐρήσετε* *καὶ* *τότε* *κακίστους* *καὶ* *νῦν* *ὑβριστοτάτους*.

δήπου] ‘he did not, I imagine, pay it’. The construction *ὡς* *στεροῖτο* is no doubt preferred to *ὥστε* *στερεῖσθαι* because, as Kühner points out, the latter would not indicate so clearly that it is the *purpose* rather than the *result* which is specially contemplated.

ἐπὶ *τούτῳ*] ‘on these terms’, ‘on this understanding’. The words *μείον* and *πλείον* afford a good example of the rhetorical figure called *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*.

§ 17. *ταύτην* *τὴν* *πράξιν*] ‘to stultify this intrigue’. The substantive *πράξις* embodies the sense of corrupt and underhand dealing which so often accompanies the simple verb.

ἀπαιτήσῃ *μέντοι* *δικαίως*] The particles, as in i. 8. 20, have the force of the Latin *profecto*: ‘of a truth’, ‘assuredly’. The phrase *βεβαιῶ* *τὴν* *πράξιν* ‘unless I confirm (i.e. make good) the transaction’ is admirably illustrated by a passage quoted by Schneider from *Cyrop.* VIII. 8. 2, *πρότερον* *βασιλεὺς* *καὶ* *οἱ* *ὑπ’* *αὐτῷ* *καὶ* *τοῖς* *τὰ* *ἔσχατα* *πεποιηκόσιν*, *εἴτε* *ὄρκους* *ὁμόσαιεν*, *ἡμπέδουν*, *εἴτε* *δεξιὰς* *δοῖεν*, *ἐβεβαίουν*.

§ 19. *μὴ* *τοίνυν* *μηδὲ* *ὅσα*] ‘nay more, not even so much as some of the captains’. The particle *τοίνυν* has the force of *asseveration* which is more frequently conveyed by the simple word *τοί*. Kühner notices the use as a strange one, but instances no other example, nor do I know of any.

§ 20. *συμφέροίμι* *τούτῳ* *τὴν* *τότε* *πενίαν*] A construction which is more common in poetry. Cf. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1366, and, similarly, *Alc.* 370,

ἐγὼ *σοι* *πένθος*, *ὡς* *φίλος* *φίλῳ*,
λυπρὸν *συνόλω* *τῆς* *δὲ*.

while in Aesch. *Eum.* 847 it appears in a modified sense:

ὄργας *συνόλω* *σοι*· *γεραιτέρα* *γὰρ* *εἶ*.

γινώσκω *δὲ*] As in i. 3. 14 and II. 5. 10, the *δὲ* is equivalent to *adeo*, and has an intensifying force: ‘I recognise *too well*’. Kühner further compares *Ages.* III. 5, *οὕτω* *μέγα* *καὶ* *καλὸν* *κτῆμα* *τοῖς* *τε* *ἄλλοις* *ἅπασι* *καὶ* *ἀνδρὶ* *δὲ* *στρατηγῷ* *τὸ* *ὄσιόν* *τε* *καὶ* *πιστὸν* *εἶναι*, a passage in which there is certainly no trace of the temporal sense with which he usually credits the particle.

§ 21. *ἤσχυρόμην*] Schäfer finds a difficulty in the omission of *ἄν*, and proposes in consequence to substitute *μέντ’* *ἄν* for *μέντοι*. But the particle is by no means essential: on the contrary, its omission (as in VI. 6. 25 and VII. 7. 40) gives an increased certainty to the result which is entirely in keeping with the force of the asseveration.

§ 22. *εἴ* *γε*...*φυλακῇ*] ‘if indeed there be such a thing as taking precautions against friends’ is the rendering of Macmichael, based apparently upon the following comment by Krüger: ‘*εἴ* *γε* *conditionis vim*

extollit, i.e. magis dubiam reddit'. Both the one explanation and the other appear to me entirely incompatible with the traditional use of εὔγε, which here, as in all other cases, presents the condition in its strongest and most probable form. Trans. therefore: 'since precautions have to be taken in our dealings with friends', and see note on εἴπερ in VII. 3. 37.

πάσαν...φυλαξαμένους] *sub.* φυλακὴν as a cognate accusative.

κατεβλακεύσαμεν τὰ τούτου] Like the similar compound καθήδυνα-θεῖν, which occurs in I. 3. 3, the verbs καταβλακεύειν and καταδειλιάν are both intransitive, the accusatives by which they are followed (τὰ τούτου and οὐδέν) being in each case accusatives of *respect*. All the MSS, with the exception of three good ones, give οὔτε μὴν in place of οὐδέ μὴν for the third negative. There can, however, be little question that Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael have done wisely in retaining the latter reading, which gives increased energy to the statement by throwing an additional emphasis on the last and strongest verb. It is on this account that οὔτε μὴν is less frequently used by the best authors than οὐδέ μὴν, because the former combination is employed when the clauses which it negatives are of *equal* importance, in connexion with which an intensifying adjunct like μὴν is manifestly inappropriate.

§ 23. τὰ ἐνέχυρα] 'the proper securities'. In connexion with the idiom ὡς μηδὲ...ἐδύνατο, 'so that he might not have been able', let me warn students once for all against an explanation which has received the countenance of high authority, the point of which lies in assigning to ὡς, ἵνα and ὅπως in this combination a *local* sense ('where', 'in which case') rather than a *final* one ('in order that'). Accordingly, on this principle, ἔν' ἣ τυφλὸς τε καὶ κλύων μηδὲν (Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1389) is to be rendered 'in which case I had been sightless as well as deaf'. In refutation of this mischievous theory we need only instance the fact that μὴ and not οὐ is the negative invariably found in connexion with this idiom: independently of which, the theory itself is a gratuitous assumption, totally at variance with the principle which regulates these conjunctions when they are constructed with the other moods.

ἀγνώμονες] 'ungrateful', 'heartless', the ordinary meaning of the adjective, for which see note on ἀγνωμοσύνας in II. 5. 6. The very fact of their ingratitude may account for his reluctance to speak before Seuthes, even though it had forced upon him the necessity of defending his conduct. It is possible, however, as Weiske suggests, that he was unwilling to disclose to the Thracians the circumstances which had compelled the army to take service in their country.

§ 24. οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον (εἰ) προσῆτε πόλιν] I have followed Macmichael, who omits the word εἰ from his text, since the presence of the two prepositions may be accounted for as indicating a condensed construction (e.g. ἐλθόντες εἰς Πέρινθον), or else as a mere redundancy, examples of which are sufficiently common. His reading, moreover, has the advantage of being almost identical with that adopted by Kühner and Bornemann, from which it differs only in the omission of εἰ before προσῆτε, a point in which one or two of the MSS are distinctly in his favour. The other leading editors give the passage in the following forms:

- (i) *εἰ προσῆτε τῇ πόλει*, 'Ἀρίσταρχος ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. (Vollbrecht),
 (ii) *εἰ προσίητε τῇ πόλει*, 'Ἀρίσταρχος ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. (Krüger),
 (iii) *εἰ προσίοιτε τῇ πόλει*, 'Ἀρίσταρχος ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. (Dindorf),

all of which are alike open to objection as taking no account of the adversative *δὲ* which in the two best MSS follows the nominative 'Ἀρίσταρχος, while the employment of the subjunctive in No. ii, and of the optative in No. iii, would raise questions of greater difficulty than those which are presented by the original text.

ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρήσθη] 'you had to resort to the market'. The Greek troops, having crossed the water by invitation, might naturally have expected a gratuitous supply of provisions: elsewhere, and under other circumstances, the permission to buy would have been regarded as a favour and privilege.

ὅτων ὠνοίσθη] The manuscripts give *ὅτων*, which is clearly untenable in connexion with the plural *σπάνια*, and the editors have generally agreed to accept the plural in its stead, which, though rarely met with in prose, is recognised in *Oec.* III. 2, and a few other passages. There is more difficulty in determining between *ὠνοίσθη* and *ὠνήσασθαι*, the former of which is suggested in five leading MSS and preferred by Kühner and Dindorf, while Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors retain the latter on the authority of the remaining MSS. The internal evidence appears to me decisive in favour of the optative; indeed, the employment of the future indicative would be an actual solecism in a passage the references of which deal altogether with the past.

§ 25. *ἐπὶ Θράκης*] The majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht and Macmichael, retain *ἐπὶ Θράκης*, which is the ordinary reading: Kühner defends the dative, which has the authority of the two leading MSS. There are several arguments which might be quoted in favour of the genitive, e.g. the probability that the less definite expression would be preferred in a case like the present, and the analogy of the phrase *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης*, which is so frequently used by Thucydides to denote the localities in question. On the other hand, we have the well-known fact that combinations like *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης*, which have once become familiar in a particular sense, are rarely employed otherwise or in a fragmentary form in cases where a different phrase will supply the required meaning.

ἐν πολέμῳ εἶναι] sc. *ἀνάγκη ἦν*.

§ 26. *οὐδὲν τι ἄφθονον*] 'in no great abundance'. The construction has already been illustrated in the note to VI. 6. 12, with which compare *οὐδὲν ἔτι* (*al.* *οὐδὲν τι*) *μεθύοντι ἐοικώς* in VII. 3. 35.

συνεστηκός] like *συνεστραμμένον*, denotes a *compact* and *well-disciplined* body of troops. Tr. 'I did not find any organised force of cavalry or peltasts existing in your ranks'.

§ 27. *μηδ' ὀντιναοῦν μισθόν*] 'even the smallest pay'.

ὑμῖν...πρὸ ὑμῶν] At first sight, the repetition of the pronoun appears tautologous, and Krüger in consequence proposes to omit the words *πρὸ ὑμῶν* as a mere explanatory gloss. It is evident, however, from the context that the change would weaken the force of the argument, which has the two-fold object of explaining to the soldiers his

concern for their interests (πρὸς ὑμῶν), and the injustice of the opinion they have formed respecting him (ἐδόκουν ὑμῖν).

§ 28. μάλλον μετέσχετε] A difficulty has been found in reconciling these words with the arrangement alluded to in VII. 3. 10, according to which Seuthes was to keep all the plunder in his own hands, the troops receiving a stipulated sum of money in payment for their services. There can be little doubt, however, that a large amount of surreptitious plunder had been made by the Greeks in the course of the campaign, an assumption which may suffice to explain the present passage. Otherwise we must fall back on another and less probable theory, according to which the words μάλλον μετέσχετε will mean no more than that, by the letter of their agreement, an increase of plunder meant an increase of pay.

§ 29. κατ' ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδαννυμένους] 'dispersing ourselves abroad in small companies'.

§ 30. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σκέτλιον πάθημα;] 'is this, I ask, the terrible infliction you complain of?' This rendering of the passage is, I think, necessitated by the presence of the article, the force of which is considerably impaired in the version suggested by Kühner: *estne id, quod nobis accidit, tam calamitosum?*

ἐμέ ἀνείναι] It is hardly necessary to discuss seriously the reading ζῶντα ἐμέ ἑάν εἶναι, which Dindorf and Bornemann have adopted in place of the text: indeed, it would be difficult to say whether the construction or the rhythm more effectually condemns it. Add to which, the verb ἀνείναι is peculiarly appropriate in this connexion, as Krüger has shewn by comparing *Hell.* II. 3. 51, οὐ φασιν ἡμῶν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνῆσόμεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον.

§ 31. περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τοῦτο] 'having this to the good'. Compare a similar use of περιγίγνεσθαι in *Thuc.* II. 39, 'we have *this* clear balance in our favour'.

ἐδαπανᾶτε] The force of the imperfect is the same as in I. 10. 1 and II. 1. 3, 'you have been living all the while at the expense of your enemies'. For the phrase ταῦτα πράττοντας, see note on πολλά καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν in VI. 4. 8.

§ 32. πρὸς ἐκείνοις] i.e. 'in addition to the honours won in Asia'. The phrase τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Θρᾷκας is peculiarly appropriate, as the victories they had won in Asia had been gained in part over the kinsmen of this very tribe.

ὦν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, τούτων] The genitive ὦν takes the place of an accusative by attraction with τούτων. There is nothing, however, to justify Kühner's condemnation of the alternative theory, which treats the relative as a genitive of respect, the employment of which is common in poetry in the sense of *περὶ ὧν*.

§ 33. ἀπήρα] a poetical expression, for which *ancoram solvere* is the Latin equivalent. Macmichael is one of the few editors who retain the more commonplace verb ἀπῆρα on the authority of the inferior MSS, while Kühner and Vollbrecht are both in favour of the text.

ἔχων...καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων] ἀπὸ rather than ὑπὸ is the preposition we should have expected in this connexion. Compare,

however, the note on VII. 2. 37, in which I have collected other examples of a similar use.

ἀν με ἔπεμπον] The condition which is implied by the particle would be to the following effect: εἰ μὴ ἐπιστενόμεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

§ 34. ἀποστροφὴν] 'a sanctuary,' as in Eur. *Med.* 603. Being placed in direct apposition with the masculine ὄν, it affords a remarkably bold example of the employment of the abstract for the concrete. On the assumption that εἰ γένοιτο is the true reading (and it is accepted as such by the majority of the editors, notwithstanding εἰ γένοιτο has the better manuscript authority) the passage becomes of interest in relation to the question of Xenophon's age, since both his sons (Diodorus and Gryllus), the latter of whom fell at *Mantineia* in the year 362, must have been born at a period subsequent to the date of the present speech.

§ 36. κατακεκανότες] This participle is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and, in Poppo's opinion, violates analogy in the principle of its formation, since perfects of the same class have their termination in γκα, e.g. πέφαγκα from φαίνω and μεμίαγκα from μαινώ. He is therefore prepared to accept the aorist κατακανόντες in its place, admitting the difficulty that it is the perfect rather than the aorist participle which is usually met with in this combination. This view of the passage is followed by Macmichael and several of the editors: the rest, including Kühner and Vollbrecht, treat the objection as hypercritical, and retain κατακεκανότες on the authority of the two leading mss.

πολλὰ μὲν δὴ...ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ...πονήσαντα] It is more than probable that the form of this sentence was suggested by a passage in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (vv. 66, 67):

ἀλλ' ἴστε πολλὰ μὲν με δακρύσαντα δὴ,
πολλὰς δ' ὁδοὺς ἐλθόντα φροντίδος πλάνοις.

καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος] 'in season and out of season', or, as Owen more literally renders it, 'in turn and out of turn'. The phrase is reproduced by Arrian (III. 26. 8), ὧν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν (τῷ) μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος κατὰ πρόσταξιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξὺν χάριτι ἐξηγείτο.

τρόπαια βαρβάρων] 'trophies over foreign foes', as in Soph. *Trach.* 1102:

κούδεῖς τρόπαι' ἔστησε τῶν ἐμῶν χερσῶν.

ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην] The regular sequence, as Kühner points out, would have been ὅσον ἐδύνατο, the sentence having hitherto been accommodated to the opening words: ἀνδρὰ κατακεκανότες ἔσσεσθε. But the transition, which makes the statement a *personal* instead of a *general* one, is at once effective and natural. Whether *contra vos*, *apud vos* or *vestra causa* is intended by πρὸς ὑμᾶς, has seriously puzzled the commentators. I am myself in favour of the second rendering. Kühner and Weiske prefer the first.

§ 37. καὶ γὰρ οὖν] See note on I. 9. 8.

ὅτι...φαίνεται] Dindorf, who is followed by Macmichael, substitutes ὅτε for ὅτι. But, as Poppo demonstrates, the temporal sense

of ὅτε would be entirely out of keeping with the spirit of the context. It will be noticed that the sentence, as a whole, forms a good example of the construction κατὰ σύνεσιν: the nominative ὑμεῖς, which would lead us to expect καιρὸν νομίζετε εἶναι, being replaced at the close of the paragraph by an impersonal and more emphatic clause: καιρὸς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι.

πλέετε] Kühner prefers this uncontracted form (which our author may have borrowed from Herodotus) on the authority of the two leading MSS.

§ 38. ἀγνώμονες] ‘unappreciative’, ‘void of intelligence’, for which compare the force of ἀγνωμοσύνας in II. 5. 6. Kühner renders it ‘iniqui’, which is less forcible because it implies by anticipation a verdict in favour of the speaker.

οὔτοι] sc. Charminus and Polynicus.

§§ 39—end. *Charminus, a Lacedaemonian, espouses his cause. Eurylochus proposes that the Lacedaemonians should enforce their claims for payment: Polycrates, that Heracleides should be arrested, as the author of their misfortunes. The sudden flight of Seuthes and Heracleides. The former reneges his promises to Xenophon, who declines to accept them and prepares to depart with the army.*

§ 40. τοῦτο...πρώτον ἡμῶν στρατηγήσαι] ‘that you should inaugurate your command over us as follows’. The accusative τοῦτο acts as the cognate to στρατηγήσαι, and is in its turn explained by the infinitive clauses which follow.

§ 41. ἀναστάς ὑπὲρ Ξενοφώντος] On the assumption that we have the true reading, we must understand these words as referring to the indirect effect of Polycrates’ speech, which certainly does not contain any definite exculpation of Xenophon’s conduct. The leading MSS give ἀνετὼς in place of ἀναστάς, while Dindorf and Vollbrecht have unearthed the reading ἐνετός, which (after substituting ὑπὸ for ὑπὲρ) they explain in the sense of *subornatus*. The word, however, is post-classical, and is not found elsewhere in Xenophon: who, as Kühner points out, employs ὑπόπεμπτος in this connexion.

§ 42. ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας] Cf. VI. 4. 4, and a note on the passage.

§ 43. ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενος] ‘having treated it as a secret’. Cf. Herod. IX. 45, 94.

§ 44. ἀναιρεῖ] sc. ὁ Ζεὺς, though the verb is more frequently used in connexion with an oracular response, e.g. in III. I. 6.

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—3. *Seuthes encamps at a distance. The Greeks supply themselves with provisions from certain villages which had been given by Seuthes to Medosades. The latter prince, attended by an influential follower and by a force of thirty horse, repairs to Xenophon, and orders him in the name of Seuthes and Medocus to withdraw his troops from the country.*

ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας] ‘quartered themselves in certain villages’:

a pregnant form of construction for ἐλθόντες εἰς κώμας ἐσκήνησαν ἐν αὐταῖς. In the clause which follows, the participle ἐπισιτισάμενοι is the emphatic word: 'from which they intended to draw their main supplies in anticipation of their arrival at the coast'.

§ 3. ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ] The article is essential to the construction. I prefer, however, to write it thus with Macmichael and one good MS rather than in crasis (ὅδε ἀνὴρ) with Kühner and Vollbrecht, a figure which is rarely met with in a simple and unstudied narrative.

ἐπιτρέψουεν] sc. τοῦτο ποιεῖν or τὰς ἡμετέρας κώμας πορθεῖν, though, like παρέχειν, the verb is often used independently.

ἀλεξόμεθα] Dindorf, Bornemann and Macmichael edit ἀλεξήσασθαι, which has the better manuscript authority in I. 3. 6. But, in the case of the present text, five of the leading MSS are in favour of ἀλεξόμεθα, which is preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht, the former of whom instances κοῦκ ἀλεξοίμην μαθὼν (*Oed. Tyr.* 539) and also ᾧ τις ἀλέξεται (*ibid.* 171), though he needlessly weakens the force of the comparison by suggesting that ἀλέξεται in the latter passage may possibly be only a form of the present.

§§ 4—10. *Xenophon's reply.*

καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι] 'even to make answer'. Cp. *Soph. Trach.* 314, τί δ' ἄν με καὶ κρίνεις; 'why should you even ask me?'

§ 5. ἦν μὲν ἐθέλομεν πορθοῦντες] a frequentative optative. The phrase ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις τοῖς ἵπποις in § 6 has been discussed in connexion with VII. 2. 21.

§ 7. νῦν δὲ ἐξελαύνετε] 'you are now for driving us out'. For this force of the present, see note on ἐβιάζετο in I. 3. 1. The use of δὲ in the *apodosis* has been illustrated in a note to ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων in VI. 6. 16. In the present passage all the editors, with the exception of Kühner and Poppo, substitute δὴ for δέ: an alteration so distinctly suggested by the rhythm of the sentence that I should not hesitate to adopt it, if the MSS were not absolutely unanimous in favour of the text.

ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας] ἐκ ταύτης τῆς χώρας would be more rhythmical, and at the same time more consistent with the ordinary use of the demonstratives. Kühner, however, instances two passages out of the present book (VII. 3. 47 and VII. 7. 9) where our author prefers ὅδε in the same connexion, while rhythm and euphony are so systematically ignored in the composition of the *Anabasis* that they can scarcely be allowed to guide us in a case like the present.

ἐχόντων κατὰ κράτος] 'when we were in possession of it by force'. The phrase ἔχειν κατὰ κράτος is so well recognised that Krüger's objection on this score to the reading of the text need scarcely be discussed. It is remarkable, however, that the leading MS is the only one which gives the participle ἐχόντων. The remainder are unanimous in favour of ἐκόντων, a word so forcible in itself that Weiske, Schneider and others have endeavoured to retain it by altering the order of the sentence, or by introducing another participle (e.g. ἐλόντων) to be taken in combination with the phrase κατὰ κράτος.

§ 8. οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοῦς] 'so far from giving us presents'. The phrase οὐχ ὅπως...ἀλλὰ is said to be elliptical for οὐ λέγω ὅπως...ἀλλὰ

κ.τ.λ. Compare the corresponding use of *non dico* in Latin, and of *nequam* (i.e. *ne dicam*) as an equivalent for *μη ὅτι* in a similar sense.

ἀποπέμψασθαι] ‘to get rid of us’. Observe the force of the middle, which, in contrast with ἀποπέμψαι, suggests with quiet irony the ulterior object of the proceeding.

§ 10. οὐδέν ἐμὲ παρακαλέσαντες] For the adverbial use of οὐδέν, cf. οὐδέν ἐτι μεθύοντι ἑοικώς in VII. 3. 35. The optative χαρμαίμην, which is to be taken in close connexion with παρακαλέσαντες, passes without notice from Kühner and the commentators. It is difficult, however, to understand why a past tense of the indicative was not employed in its place, as the very point of Xenophon’s argument lies in the fact that his reconciliation with the Lacedaemonians had been rendered *impossible* by the treatment he had received from the Thracian authorities.

θαυμαστότατοι] is used ironically as an equivalent for θαυμασιώτατοι, which is the word employed in III. 1. 27 and preferred by some of the editors in the present passage.

§§ 11—20. *The Odrysian who had accompanied Medosades declines to remain with him, and, after expressing his sympathy with the Greeks, returns to Medocus with the larger portion of his retinue. In concert with Xenophon, Medosades has an interview with the Lacedaemonian authorities at which it is decided to send a deputation to Seuthes and demand the fulfilment of his promises.*

κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι] The phrase occurs again in *Cyrop.* VI. 1. 35.

§ 13. προερῶν] ‘to make the same announcement to them’. Others would render it ‘to forewarn them’, but the former explanation suits the context better, and is suggested by προλέγομεν which is the corresponding verb in § 3.

§ 14. δεδέχται] This reading, which is found in one good MS and suggested in two others under the form δεδέκται, is accepted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors. It is noticed by Krüger as occurring in Isaeus VIII. 22, and also in a passage of Demosthenes. The alternative in the present instance is δέουτε, which is found in some of the inferior MSS and has all the appearance of a marginal emendation.

φασι] sc. οἱ στρατιῶται, which may be easily supplied κατὰ σύνεσιν as an equivalent for ἡ στρατιά.

ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς] Macmichael considers that the word αὐτοῖς can scarcely be explained otherwise than by referring it to Medosades and the Thracian envoys, in which case the employment of the aorist ὑπέσχεσθε (to which he objects) would occasion no difficulty, more especially in a speech which is reviewing by anticipation the events of the present on the assumption that they are already past. In Latin, the employment of the epistolary tense will furnish an almost exact parallel. A more valid objection to Macmichael’s rendering may be found in the fact that no distinct mention of the Thracian envoys has been made in the previous clauses, throughout which the Greek troops under Xenophon have been recognised as the subject of the sentence. I prefer, therefore, to understand αὐτοῖς with some of the commentators as equivalent to τοῖς στρατιώταις, the recurrence of which as the nominative of the follow-

ing clause may be only a device for throwing additional emphasis on so important a word. Kühner and Vollbrecht do not notice the difficulty.

§ 15. εἰ μὲν σύ τι ἔχεις...λέγειν] Either εἶεν or καλῶς ἔχει may be supplied to complete the sentence, which furnishes an example of *apostrophe* similar to that on which I have commented in the note to ἦν μὲν δυνάμεθα παρ' ὑμῶν ἀγαθὸν τι εὐρίσκεσθαι (VII. 1. 31).

§ 16. ὑφειμένως] 'submissively'. From the explanation which follows it is clear that in the words τοὺς φίλους ἡμῶν γεγεννημένους Medosades is referring to the inhabitants of the villages from which the Greek troops had been drawing their supplies.

§ 17. ὁπότε...ἔχοιεν] ἔχοιεν is usually explained independently of its connexion with the previous clause as an ordinary instance of the indefinite optative. On the contrary, the two clauses are to be taken in close combination, as ὁπότε ἔχοιεν simply represents the condition, for which εἰ ἔχοιεν would be the more familiar phrase. οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῶν καταπράξαντες, 'the authors of your present misfortunes'.

καὶ νῦν] i.e. notwithstanding your appeal: an interpretation which suits the context better than 'forthwith', 'this very minute', though the latter rendering would be equally consistent with the Greek.

ἐνθὲνδε] 'from this district', i.e. from you.

§ 18. ὁπότερα ἂν ψηφίσωνται] *sub.* ψηφίσεσθαι, though there would be nothing ungrammatical in making the accusative depend directly on the verb ἐπιτρέψαι. The use of προσήκει, for which we might have expected προσήκει, is noticed by Kühner chiefly for the purpose of denouncing the theory that the forms are interchangeable in classical Greek. The idiom, by which the imperfect is used without ἂν to represent in detail the application of some familiar principle, is chiefly confined to expressions like βῆξιον ἦν, εἰκὸς ἦν and the like, with most of which we are familiar in their Latinised form: e.g. *facile erat*, *oportebat*, *tempus erat*.

§ 19. οὐκ ἔφη] sc. ἐπιτρέψαι ἂν, 'said no', 'declined'.

οἶεσθαι ἂν Σενθην πείσσαι] It is quite impossible that οἶεσθαι can depend on ἐκέλευε, which is the suggestion of Bornemann. The context requires that we should understand ἔφη or some equivalent, reverting, however, to ἐκέλευε as the main verb when we reach the infinitive πεμπεῖν.

§§ 21—47. *Xenophon appeals to Szenthes.*

§ 22. εἰς τὸ φανερόν] 'raised you to distinction'. The phrase occurs again in *Ages.* V. 6, and *Cyrop.* VIII. 7. 23.

λανθάνειν] Kühner proposes to understand ποιῶν, but the verb is often used independently, e.g. in *Soph. Trach.* 455,

ὅπως δὲ λήσεις, οὐδὲ τοῦτο γίγνεται.

§ 23. τοιούτῳ δὲ ὄντι ἀνδρὶ] 'for a person of your position'. We have noticed the use of the middle ἀποπέμψασθαι in the same connexion and with the same force in Xenophon's earlier speech (VII. 7. 8). The substitution of σπαντὸν for ἑαυτὸν at the close of the sentence marks, as Kühner points out, the application of a general statement to the individual case.

§ 24. *πλανωμένους*] ‘miss their aim’, a use of the verb which is especially common in poetry. The force of the verb *σωφρονίζειν*, and of the corresponding substantive *σωφρονιστής*, has been illustrated in connexion with VI. I. 28: *ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθῇην*.

τὸ ἥδη κολάζειν] Macmichael edits *τὰς ἥδη κολάσεις* with Schneider and Bornemann, a conjectural emendation based upon *ἄλλων γε δὴ κολάσεις* which appears in all the mss with the exception of three. The reading of the text is adopted by Kühner and Vollbrecht mainly on the ground that the more difficult phrase is presumably the more genuine, while the unusual position and construction of the genitive *ἄλλων* was in all probability suggested by the corresponding expression *τὰς τούτων ἀπέλλας*.

οἱ ἄλλοι] ‘the rest of the world’. The article is omitted by Din-dorf and some of the leading authorities on the ground that it destroys the balance of the antithesis.

§ 25. *οἷδ’ ὅτι*] Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors have accepted *οἶσθ’ ὅτι*, the conjecture of Muretus, but there is a quiet irony in the use of the first person which is totally lost by the alteration: ‘nothing (says Xenophon), as I know to my cost’.

πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν ἃ ἔλεγες] ‘having been trusted in the assurance that you will be true to your promises’.

§ 26. *τούτων τῶν χρημάτων*] a genitive of price, in reference to the money which he was now claiming for the payment of the troops. Kühner calls attention to the occurrence of the form *βλάβος* in § 28. It is not found elsewhere in Xenophon: but I cannot discover that its use by the other prose authors is so restricted as he seems to imagine. It is certainly employed by Plato, Antiphon and Herodotus, all of whom would seem to have preferred it to the correlative form *βλάβη*.

§ 27. *πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ*] Krüger correctly observes that *πῶς* is to be connected with *ἡγοῦ* rather than with *μέγα*, as the latter combination would have necessitated the employment of *ὥς*.

§ 28. *κατασχεῖν*] The present is more commonly found than the aorist in this connexion: indeed *κατασχεῖν* would be more appropriate as an equivalent for *λαβεῖν* than in contrast with it to denote a *state* of repression. Accordingly in § 29 the author reverts to the more usual tense (*κατέχοι*).

For the use of *ἀρχήν* in the sense of *ominino*, which is only admissible in combination with a negative, cf. Soph. *Antig.* 92,

ἀρχὴν δὲ θηρᾶν οὐ πρέπει τὰμήχανα.

§ 29. *φιλία τῇ σῇ*] ‘from any friendship *for you*’, the possessive taking the place of the objective genitive on which I have commented in the note to II. 5. 7. The introduction of the particle *μὲν* after *ἐπίστασαι* is no doubt correctly explained by Krüger, who suggests that the termination of the sentence, as originally intended by the author, would probably have been as follows: *ἐπίστασαι δέ, ὅτι ἐπιχειροῦεν ἂν κ.τ.λ.*

§ 30. *ὥς...μένοντας ἂν*] See note on *ὥς οὕτω περιγεγόμενος ἂν* in I. I. 10.

ἄλλους τε...παραγενέσθαι] It is difficult to determine whether this

infinitive is dependent on the main verb *οἶει*, or on *νομίζουεν*, which may be supplied from *ὀρῶεν* and would refer to the subject-tribes mentioned in § 29 (*οἱ νῦν σοι ὑπήκοοι*). Kühner takes the former view: while Vollbrecht, Krüger and Macmichael, with whom I am inclined to agree, are in favour of the latter. It is awkward, I think, to understand a change of subject in the central passage of a paragraph which from its commencement (in the word *ὀρῶεν*) to its close (in the word *καταδοξάσειαν*) has followed with unusual precision the thread of the original construction. On the other hand, the strength of Kühner's argument undoubtedly lies in the genitive *τούτων*, for which, in strict correctness, we should expect *σφῶν* or *σφῶν αὐτῶν* on the assumption that it refers to the subject of *ὀρῶεν*.

καταδοξάσειαν] *καταδοξάζειν* is to 'form a *disparaging* idea' of a person or thing. Compare the force of *κατενόησαν* in Thuc. II. 3, and the notes on I. 3. 3 and II. 2. 11 in the present edition.

τούτους] will of course refer to the Greek troops: *αὐτοῖς* to the subject-tribes mentioned above as *τοὺς νῦν σοι ὑπηκόους*.

§ 31. *καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος*] Kühner understands this as a species of attraction, like *οἶαπερ* for *οἶανπερ* on which I commented in a note on I. 3. 18. Another and, I think, more probable explanation is suggested by the phrase *ἀλειυνὸν ἦν ἡ χιὼν* in IV. 4. 11: the neuter being used for the masculine or feminine when it refers in a general way to the characteristics of a class.

προστάτας αὐτῶν] 'to command them'.

ἂν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν] The argument is as follows: 'if you leave it to the Lacedaemonians to exact the money that is due from you in preference to paying it of your own free will, it will give them a hold over the Greek troops which may on occasion prove fatal to your authority'.

§ 32. *οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ σοὶ Θρᾷκες γενόμενοι*] The position of the substantive is slightly irregular. Compare, however, a parallel passage in VI. 6. 19 (*ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου*), in connexion with which I have instanced other examples of composite phrases which exhibit a similar departure from the ordinary rule.

§ 33. *ἃ ἐγκαλοῦσιν*] 'their claims'. This use of *ἐγκαλεῖν* is a rare one, but recognised, apparently, by the orators, as Schneider quotes one example at least from Demos. *con. Afatur.* p. 900, *διὰ τί πέρυσιν ἐπιδημῶν μὴ ὅτι δικάσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγκαλέσαι μοι ἐτόλμησε*, where the context clearly shews that the reference is to a monetary claim.

§ 34. *ὀφείλονται*] Kühner and Macmichael retain this plural on the authority of four leading mss, adding the usual explanation as in I. 2. 23 and II. 2. 15. Vollbrecht edits *ὀφείλοιο*, which I am inclined to adopt notwithstanding the manuscript authority for the reading in the text, as the explanation which has served to justify the idiom when it occurs elsewhere (e.g. in I. 2. 23) is not equally available in the present case.

§ 35. *λαβεῖν*] equivalent to the Latin *conquirere*: 'to find this money'. The question whether the article should be omitted with *δέκατον* on the authority of the two best mss has been practically decided by Kühner, who conclusively proves that, both in Xenophon and Thucydides, the ordinary usage is in favour of its omission.

§ 37. δοκῆς...διαφθαρείην] The transition from the subjunctive to the optative admirably marks the change from the nearer to the more remote contingency. Cf. Thuc. III. 22, ὅπως ἀσαφῆ ἢ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρουκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμοῖς καὶ μὴ βοήθοιεν, and § 57 of the present chapter. There is, however, no instance apparently in classical Greek where the transition is made *from* the optative to the subjunctive, as suggested by some of the editors in a similar passage of the *Anabasis*, the more probable of the two alternatives in all cases taking the precedence.

§ 39. ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις] = *militum causa*, 'to give us a hold on the troops': a rare and unclassical use of the preposition, the nearest approximation to which occurs in a passage quoted by Poppo from *Cyrop.* I. 6. 39 (μηχανὰς ποιέεισθαι ἐπὶ θηρίοις), though it in no wise justifies the present combination.

§ 40. μηδὲ ἀποδιδόντος] *σὺδ. σοῦ*. The change to the gen. abs. is made for the sake of emphasis, as in the case of οἰκισθέντος for οἰκισθέντι in v. 3. 7.

αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἦν] The imperfect has been already explained in connexion with προσῆκεν in § 18.

διαπεπραχθαι] is to be treated as a middle: else it would be difficult to account for the omission of ἐμέ before the infinitive, which is inserted in some of the editions on the authority of the inferior mss. We have noticed a similar example of this use in Demos. *adv. Androt.* 617, where the form πεποιήται takes the place of a middle.

§ 43. ἀλλὰ γάρ] 'however'. See note on III. 2. 25.

ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγους] Cf. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀπονήσκωμεν (III. 2. 3), in the note to which I have explained and illustrated this force of ἀλλὰ. For πάντας Schäfer proposes πάντως, an alteration which adds so greatly to the elegance of the passage that it has been accepted by Dindorf, Bornemann and Macmichael.

ψέγειν] To 'make small', and therefore to 'disparage', 'depreciate', is the literal force of the verb (cf. ψέω), a meaning which can be traced in many of the correlative forms: e.g. in the case of the subst. ψακὰς or ψεκὰς 'small rain'.

§ 44. αὐτοῖ] 'on their own account': in contrast, as Kühner points out, with πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους in the leading clause. In § 45, a marked emphasis is thrown on the words τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα by their position in the sentence.

§ 46. ἀποδείκνυσθαι] Only two mss of very inferior authority give the reading ἀποκεῖσθαι, which has been accepted on its own merits by Vollbrecht, Dindorf, Poppo and Krüger. Like πάντως in § 43 it would be an unquestionable improvement to the text, but an argument on this ground is a dangerous one in dealing with conjectural emendations.

ὑπισχνούμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλασο] = non satiari poteris pollicendo, Kühner, 'were never weary of promising'. For τολμᾶς in the sense of the Latin *audes*, 'can you bear?' 'have you the face?', cf. IV. 4. 12, and Soph. *Antig.* 449,

καὶ δῆτ' ἐτόλμας τοῦσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους;

§ 47. ὅτι σοι δόξει] Kühner understands these words as dependent on the infinitive διδάξειν, an explanation which I much prefer to the

alternative suggested by some of the editors, who would make the verb πιστεύω do double duty—first with the phrase ὅτι δόξει, and then, by a change of construction, with the infinitive clause which follows.

τοὺς σοὶ προεμένους εὐεργεσίαν] See note on the constructions of προέσθαι in VII. 3. 31, while the special force of the verb, 'to give without stipulation', or, as in this case, *with no certainty of remuneration*, is still more clearly illustrated in a passage quoted by Schneider from Plat. *Gorg.* 520 C: καὶ προέσθαι γε δήπου τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀνεμισθοῦ μόνοις τοῦτοις ἐνεχώρει...ἀλλὰ μόνῳ ἀσφαλὲς ταύτην τὴν εὐεργεσίαν προέσθαι, εἶπερ τῷ ὄντι δύναιτό τις ἀγαθοὺς ποιεῖν.

τιοῦτον ποιῆσαι] 'to reinstate me in the position in which you found me'.

§§ 48—end. *The troops receive their wages, partly in money and partly in slaves and cattle. At the request of Xenophon, the transaction is allowed to pass through his hands. Declining to continue longer in the service of Scuthes, he makes his preparations for a return to Athens, but consents to defer it until Thibron in person shall have relieved him of his command.*

§ 49. ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα] 'to stand on a different footing'. Cf. δέομαι οὖν σοῦ...τιοῦτον ποιῆσαι, οἷόνπερ καὶ παρέλαβες in § 47.

§ 51. ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἷόν τε] 'it is impossible that your wish should be realised'.

§ 52. ἐπαινῶ] The phrase employed for refusing an invitation, as in *Conv.* I. 7, which became in consequence the recognised formula for declining a favour of whatever kind. Cf. κάλλιστ' ἐπαινῶ in *Aristoph. Ran.* 508, and the corresponding use of *laudare* in *Verg. Georg.* II. 412,

.....*laudato ingentia rura :*

Exiguum colito.

§ 53. τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους] The transfer of these hostages to Xenophon, after his successful repulse of the night attack made upon his camp, has been mentioned in VII. 4. 21.

§ 54. ἐξικνῆται] Cf. Plat. *Protag.* 311 D, ἂν μὲν ἐξικνῆται τὰ ἡμέτερα χρήματα, καὶ τοῦτοις πείθωμεν αὐτόν. The verb ἐξαρκῆ, which has supplanted the true reading in all the inferior MSS, was clearly, as Kühner points out, an explanatory gloss.

τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν ;] 'to whom shall I say the talent in my keeping belongs?' After laughing at the idea of distributing so small a sum, Xenophon continues his joke, if such it can be called, in the question which follows: 'and would it not be safer, since there is certainly peril in store for me, that I should guard against the risk of being stoned by making good my escape?' In explanation of φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς πέτρους, compare VII. 6. 10, εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευσθέντα...τὸν μισθὸν ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν. The only real difficulty of the passage lies in the meaning to be attached to the participle ἀπιόντα, which I have translated in accordance with Kühner's rendering, though it probably means nothing more than 'on my return to the camp', 'on leaving your presence', an explanation which is suggested by ἀπιόντι, a reading of scarcely less authority than ἀπιόντα.

τότε μὲν] 'for the time being'. See note on II. 3. 1.

§ 55. τοὺς ταῦτα ἐλάσσοντας] ‘men to drive the cattle’.

§ 56. πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν] ‘were subject to many complaints’ on the ground of unfair distribution. ‘Ad Charminum et Polynicum’ is Krüger’s comment in connexion with the verb προσήει. I should myself prefer to understand τὸ πρᾶγμα, ‘took no part in the matter’, as in better keeping with the context and quite within the compass of the verb.

§ 57. οἴκαδε παρασκευαζόμενος] ‘making ready for home’, a phrase which by its very brevity is more emphatic than it would be in the completer form: παρασκευαζόμενος ὡς ἀπιὼν οἴκαδε.

οὐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αἰτῶ ἐπ’ ἤκτο] The occasion and circumstances of his banishment are unknown: possibly, as I have suggested in the introduction, the decree was not formally passed until he had actually taken part against Athens in the battle of Coronea.

πρὶν ἂν ἀπαγάγῃ...καὶ...παραδοίῃ] This reading, which I have adopted with Kühner on the authority of the two best MSS, presents no difficulty. The second of the two verbs is to be taken independently of ἂν, while the transition from the subjunctive to the optative forcibly contrasts the nearer with the more remote contingency, a construction of which we have a notable example in § 37 of the present chapter.

In the alternative reading both verbs are in the optative: the particle ἂν being omitted by Vollbrecht against the authority of the three leading MSS, or explained by Dindorf, Bornemann and Macmichael as an instance of the rare usage which Hermann (on Soph. *Trach.* 2) ascribes to the exigencies of the oblique narration. Compare, in particular, the note on VI. i. 28.

CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1—6. *The troops cross over to Lampsacus. By the advice of Euclides, the son of Cleagoras, Xenophon on reaching Ophrynum sacrifices to Zeus Milichius. Bion, accompanied by Euclides, arrives with pay for the army. In consideration of Xenophon’s destitution, they recover for him a favourite horse which he had been forced to sell at Lampsacus.*

εἰς Λάμψακον] now Lamsaki, a city of Mysia, to the north-east of *Abydos*. It was originally colonised by settlers from *Phocaea* and *Miletus*.

Φλιάσιος] The town of *Phlius* in Achaia was situated about midway between *Sicyon* and *Argos*.

τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ] The gymnasium called the *Lyceum* lay eastwards of the city. On the assumption that we possess the true reading (of which there is considerable doubt, as the MSS fluctuate between τοῦ τὰ ἐνοκία ἐν οἰκίῳ, τοῦ τὰ ἐν οἰκία ἐν οἰκίῳ and the reading of the text), the allusion is probably to a work entitled *Dreams in the Lyceum*. Macmichael follows Weiske who prefers to understand it of a *painting*, the subject of which may possibly have been derived from the Homeric dreams (cf. *Il.* β’, 8, 16 and *Od.* τ’, 562), in illustration of which Schneider notices on the authority

of Pausanias that an *ὄνειρον ἄγαλμα* actually existed in the temple of Aesculapius. But this was in all probability a statue of the god *Ὀνειρος*, while, in the passage before us, the omission of the article *after* the substantive *ἐνύπνια* is entirely in favour of the ordinary rendering.

In place of *ἐνύπνια* it has been proposed to substitute *ἐντοίχια*, *εἰκόνα*, or (preferably) *ἐνώπια*, none of which can be accepted as satisfactory in the absence of all information as to the profession of Cleagoras.

γεγραφόςτος] Kühner edits *γεγραφεκότος* on the authority of four MSS, among which are three of preeminent weight. But the reading of the text, which is preferred by Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors, is almost invariably met with in this particular connexion.

§ 2. *τὸν ἵππον*] '*his horse*'. See note on the force of the article in II. 5. 38.

ἀμφ' αὐτὸν] Almost all the editors, excepting Kühner, have adopted *αὐτὸν* for *αὐτόν* in the present passage, and as a rule, whenever the same question has arisen, I have been disposed to follow them. But, in the case before us, the use of the imperfect *εἶχεν* so clearly marks the clause as the statement of the *historian* that I have had little hesitation in preferring the reading of the text.

§ 3. *παρεστήσατο*] '*he placed beside him*', a sense of the verb which became technical in connexion with the proceedings which closed a criminal trial. Cf. Dem. § 546, 20, *παιδία παραστήσεται*.

ιερεῖα] It is surprising that Vollbrecht should have preferred to read *ιερά* on the authority of the inferior MSS. The latter term, denoting as it does the *sacred portions* of the victim rather than the animal itself, would be altogether out of keeping with the sense of the context, the force of which lies in the paucity and inferiority of the intended victims.

ἔφη] sc. *ὁ Εὐκλείδης*. With *μέλλη ἔσεσθαι* supply the word *χρήματα* from the previous sentence.

σὺ σπαντῶ] in compliment to the unselfish liberality of Xenophon's character.

§ 4. *ὁ Μελίχιος*] An attribute which was by no means specially confined to Zeus, being used on occasion of the other divinities to whom sacrifice was offered in atonement for guilt. To judge from a comment of the scholiast on Aristoph. *Λυβ.* 407, the festival of the *Διάσια* at Athens was celebrated in honour of this particular deity.

ὑμῖν] i.e. for your family. It appears from this statement that their present meeting was only the renewal of an intimacy which had been formed in earlier days at Athens.

καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖν] The *καὶ*, as Kühner points out, has an explanatory force, '*i.e.* by burning the victim whole': in contrast with the ordinary ceremonial at which only special portions of the animal were reserved for sacrifice. In *Κυροῦ*. VIII. 3. 24, *ὀλοκαυτώ*, and not *ὀλοκαυτέω*, is the form preferred.

καὶ ἃ εἰώθει] If the reading be correct, the *καὶ* is again explanatory as in the phrase *καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖν*. But the text is not entirely free from

suspicion, though it is found with no important variation in five of the leading MSS, and is accepted by Kühner, Macmichael and the majority of the editors. Dindorf, however, proposes to omit the *καί*, while Vollbrecht and others for *καί* $\dot{\alpha}$ would substitute *καθά*, a form which does not occur elsewhere in the *Anabasis*.

συνοίσειν] sc. τὰ πράγματα, 'your affairs will improve'. Cf. Dem. Ol. III. *ad fin.*, and a note on *ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται* in VII. 3. 17.

§ 5. *εἰς Ὀφρύνιον*] Situated southwards of *Dardanus* in the district of the Troad. In consideration of Xenophon's poverty, Larcher, Macmichael and others propose to understand *χοίρους* of cakes or loaves which had been made up so as to resemble swine: a theory rejected as untenable by Kühner and Schneider on the ground that (had this been so) some qualifying word would assuredly have been added.

πατρώῳ] 'after the custom of his family', which is found in three leading MSS, is rightly preferred by Kühner, Bornemann and Macmichael to the form *πατρίῳ*, though the latter is edited by Vollbrecht and others. Interpreted in its strictest sense, the adjective is in admirable keeping with a statement in § 4, *ὥσπερ οἴκοι, ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖν*. For the distinction between *πατρίῳ* and *πατρώῳ*, which I believe to be *invariably* observed by the writers of the best period, see note on *σὺν τῷ πατρώῳ φρονήματι* (III. 2. 16).

§ 6. (*ἅμα Εὐκλείδης*)] Kühner, though admitting that the name is undoubtedly corrupt, does not however include it in brackets. Vollbrecht edits *Ναυσικλείδης* in place of *Εὐσικλείδης*, the latter being the nearest approach to a reading that can be obtained from the MSS. It is at any rate hardly possible that Euclides would be introduced anew in this casual manner, nor is the formal word *ξενοῦνται* at all in keeping with the intimacy which existed between himself and Xenophon. In addition, it is little likely that a priest would have been selected to perform the office in question.

The article, which Poppo and Kühner have introduced before *ἵππων*, is omitted by Kühner, who acutely argues that the explanatory clause which follows sufficiently supplies its place.

§§ 7—11. *Continuing their advance through the Troad, and taking Antandrus, Adramyttium and Certonium on their way, the Greek troops arrive at Pergamus. Xenophon is hospitably entertained at the house of Hellas, who counsels him to make an attack on the stronghold of Asidates, the Persian. The sacrifices proving favourable, Xenophon conducts the assault.*

τὴν Ἰδην] now *Karajah Tagh*. In the clause which follows, Kühner proposes *Μυσίας* in place of *Ἀσίας* (which appears in the better MSS) or *Λυδίας* (which is found in the majority). Neither of these, he argues, are in accordance with the statement of Herodotus and Aristotle, by both of whom the plain of Thebes is treated as a part of Mysia. The town itself was situated at the foot of *Mount Placos*, and was known in consequence as *Thebe Hypoplacia*.

Adramyttium (or *Adramyttium*) was a city on the river *Caicus*. The modern name is *Adramytti*.

§ 8. *Κερωνοῦ*] Neither in this form nor in the form *Κερωνίου*, which

is the alternative reading, do we find any other mention of this town. *Cytonium*, which it is proposed to substitute for it, lay between Mysia and Lydia, and therefore does not accord with the locality in question. *Καρίνης* (the conjecture of Hutchinson) is more probable, as it is believed that a town of this name was situated on the banks of the river *Caresos* in Mysia.

Ἀταρνέα] a strongly-fortified town, over against Lesbos, now *Dikheli*. *Pergamus* (now *Bergma* or *Bergamo*) became famous as the metropolis of the Attalian Princes.

παρ' Ἑλλάδι] 'at the house of Hellas'. Gongylus, who had died before the time of Xenophon's visit, is well known as the agent employed by Pausanias (about B. C. 477) when he was intriguing with Xerxes against the liberties of Greece. Cf. Thuc. I. 128. In return the king presented his sons and himself with certain cities of Asia (*Hell.* III. 1. 6), and among them, apparently, was *Pergamus*.

§ 9. αὐτὸν] sc. Xenophon.

§ 11. ὅπως εὖ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῦς] 'that he might do them a good turn', i.e. by awarding them a share of the expected plunder. βιασάμενοι, 'having forced themselves upon him', for which compare Demos. πρὸς Βοι. περὶ ὀνόμ. *ad fin.*

τὸ μέρος] 'their share', the article taking the place of the possessive pronoun as in § 2 of the present chapter.

§§ 12—19. *The enterprise fails, and, in carrying out their retreat, the Greek troops suffer heavy losses, the garrison being assisted in their defence by volunteers from the neighbourhood.*

ἀνδράποδα...καὶ χρήματα...ἀπέδρα] Observe the ζεύγμα.

τῆς τύρσιος] It is only in the singular that our author prefers the Ionic form of the genitive, as Kühner proves by numerous examples. To avoid the rare construction of περίξ with a genitive, the same authority suggests that the preposition is to be taken independently. But the phrase ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος 'the slaves in the tower' would be a most singular form of expression, while the position of the article and the rhythm of the sentence are altogether in favour of the more usual rendering. Possibly Krüger may be right, who, in view of the difficulty, proposes to omit the genitive τῆς τύρσιος, the origin of which may have been a marginal gloss explanatory of the word περίξ.

§ 13. προμαχεῶνας] 'battlements'. The word is a favourite one with Herodotus, who uses it on more than one occasion (cf. III. 151) in connexion with the Walls of Babylon. The adjective γηγῆνων in the following section is equivalent to κεράμαι in III. 4. 7, and possibly (though only by implication) to ὀπτῶν in II. 3. 12.

§ 14. διεφάνη] 'diluxit' Kühn., 'as soon as the light shone through'. The phrase βουπόρω...ὀβελίσκῳ has been variously explained as a 'spit on which you might roast an ox', or else as a species of lance used for goading cattle. The connexion in which it is employed by Euripides (*Cycl.* 302) is in favour of the former rendering. The Homeric adverb διαμπερές occurs again in IV. 1. 18, τοξευθεῖς...διαμπερές ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν.

§ 15. Ὑρκάνιοι] That the Hyrcanians of Upper Asia are meant is clear from the context, and also from a notice in the *Cyropaedia* (IV.

2. 8), which includes them among the mercenary forces of the kings of Persia. Their country lay to the south of the eastern portion of the Caspian sea. *Parthenium* and *Apollonia* were Mysian towns in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*.

§ 16. καὶ ἀνδράποδα] The position of these words is remarkable, and might suggest at first sight that they alone had reference to the participial clause which follows: ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησάμενοι. It is clear, however, from a comparison of analogous passages (e.g. VII. 1. 41), that no such distinction is intended: the trajection being employed either to throw an additional emphasis on the word ἀνδράποδα, or, it may be, to connect it less directly with the verb ἤλαννον, the special subject of which is to be found in the previous substantives.

καὶ...θρασύτεροι εἶεν] This optative forms a direct continuation of the main clause: μὴ φυγῇ εἴη ἡ ἀφodus.

§ 17. ἐξ Ἀλυσάρνης] *Ihalisarna* (or *Alisarna*, as the name is sometimes written) was also in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*. See note on II. 1. 3. Procles is mentioned in the same passage as ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγονώς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος.

§ 18. πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων] 'that their shields might be available as a defence against (lit. *in the face of*) the arrows': a rare use of the preposition, which is found, however, in I. 4. 4, τεῖχος πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας.

§ 19. διασώζονται] sc. οἱ Ἕλληνες.

ὅσον θύματα] For the construction, cf. ὅσον ἐφόδιον in VII. 3. 20. The victims in question were clearly intended to form part of the sacrifice which is incidentally mentioned in the following sections.

§§ 20—24. *A second expedition results in the total defeat of Asidates, after which the Greek troops return to Pergamus. Arrival of Thibron, and the termination of Xenophon's command.*

ὅ τι μακροτάτην] sub. ὁδόν. In τῆς Λυδίας we have an example of the partitive genitive, dependent on the idea of *distance* and *extent* which is contained in the superlative μακροτάτην. Cf. I. 3. 1, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω 'any portion of the road that lay beyond', and πρόσω τοῦ ποταμοῦ (IV. 3. 28) 'further into the river'.

εἰς τὸ μὴ...φοβεῖσθαι] 'so that the enemy might not take alarm at the proximity of the Greek troops'. Dindorf and Bornemann edit ὥστε μὴ...φοβεῖσθαι. The text which I have adopted rests on the authority of four leading MSS, and is preferred by Vollbrecht, Kühner and Macmichael.

§ 21. ἐπ' αὐτόν] 'for permission to march against him'. The phrase, though equivalent in sense to περὶ τοῦ ἰέναι or ἐπὶ τῇ ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, is, notwithstanding the suggestion of some of the editors, sufficiently complete in its present form.

εἰς κώμας...ἐχούσας] *pertinentes* is the Latin equivalent for ἐχούσας. The expression, however, is a rare and inelegant one, nor is it entirely justified by a passage which Hutchinson quotes as analogous from Herod. IV. 42, διώρυχα...τὴν ἐκ Νείλου ἔχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον.

§ 23. τὸν θεόν] in reference, apparently, to the sacrifice he had offered to *Zeus Milichius*, of which mention was made in §§ 4 and 5.

ἐξάρετα λαμβάνειν] A use of the adjective which is especially common in poetry. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 402,

ἐξάλρετον δώρημα Θησέως τόκοις.

Similarly, in Soph. *Trach.* 245, we have the following:

ἐξέλκεθ' αὐτῷ κτῆμα καὶ θεοῖς κριτόν.

§ 25. *This section, the authenticity of which is doubtful, contains a summary of the Persian provinces with the names of their respective governors.*

(ἀρχοντες δὲ οἷδε κ.τ.λ.)] It is needless to examine in detail the arguments by which Krüger has conclusively demonstrated that the summary which follows forms no true portion of the present work, though it may possibly have been transferred to its present quarters from some other account of the *Anabasis*. Among the more important of his objections are the employment of the first person ἐπήλθομεν, the mention of Artacamas as governor of Phrygia in place of Cyrus or Tissaphernes, the combination in one satrapy of districts so widely separated as Arabia and Phoenicia, the omission from the catalogue of a province so large and important as Eastern Armenia, and the incorporation of Seuthes among the representatives of the Persian King.

§ 26. *A short review of the extent and duration of the entire campaign.*

(ἀριθμὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ.)] There is, apparently, no good reason for including this section in the condemnation which has been passed on the previous paragraph, though it is rejected as spurious by Vollbrecht and some of the editors. If we accept the numerals as they appear in the leading MSS, the present summary is entirely consistent with the distances recorded in II. 2. 6 and V. 5. 4. Taken in combination, the marches from Ephesus to Cunaxa and from Cunaxa to Cotyora, where the Retreat (properly so called) terminates, form the precise total which is given in the passage before us. It has been calculated (though by no means with positive certainty) that the entire extent of the journey was approximately equivalent to 4330 English miles; and that, of the time which was consumed on it, the *Anabasis* must have occupied six months, and the *Katabasis* about three quarters of a year.

APPENDIX.

ON THE TEXT OF THE ANABASIS.

[A comparison in detail of the manuscript readings would be altogether out of place in an edition like the present which is intended mainly for the use of schools. At the same time it may be of service to the general reader, in cases where the text which I have adopted differs from that of Kühner, to be supplied with the readings of the five MSS which in point of authority stand preeminently at the head of the list. In all such cases the readings, as they are given below, have been derived from Kühner's edition, except in the very few instances where, for reasons explained in the notes, I have suggested a correction of my own. In estimating the comparative authority of the MSS in question, Kühner assigns the *first* place to A (*Romanus Vaticanus*, 987), the *second* to B (*Parisinus regius*, 1641), written by a more careful hand, the *third* to C (*Parisinus regius*, 1640), which in the parts that have been collated approximates closely to B, the *fourth*—after a wide interval—to D (*Parisinus regius*, 2535), which, with certain distinctive characteristics, is practically uniform with B, and the *fifth* to the *Codex Etonensis* (E), the readings of which are often in accordance with those of distinctly inferior MSS. It may be added that Vollbrecht's confidence in the authority of A and B is by no means so unwavering as that of Kühner.]

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

§ 18. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης] So Vollbr., who sees no ground for departing from the reading of the MSS : ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης Zeune, Kühn. and Macm.

CHAPTER III.

§ 17. †αὐταῖς† ταῖς τριήρεσι] αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι Kühn. Macm., but Vollbr. is, I think, justified in mistrusting the word αὐταῖς. See note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER IV.

§ 15. *ὥς φίλοι τεύξεσθε*] BCD Vollbr. Born. and Macm., *φίλα* E, *ὥς φίλου τεύξεσθε* Kühn. with the inferior mss. It is suggestive that in A the words *οἶδα ὅτι ὥς φίλου* are omitted altogether.

CHAPTER V.

§ 2. [*ἀν*] *ἔστασαν*] The particle is omitted by Vollbr. Dind. Macm. and the majority of the mss, including the five best. Kühn. transposes it thus: *ἔστασαν ἀν*, but see note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER VII.

§ 4. **ὑμῶν**] Schn. omits the pronoun (which is worse than superfluous) on the authority of E.

§ 12. (*καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες*)] The majority of the editors have followed Weiske, who omits these words as an interpolation. For Kühner's arguments in favour of retaining them, see note *ad loc.*

§ 18. *εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις*] So Vollbr. Born. and Macm., *εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις* Kühn. Four out of the five leading mss (ABCE) exhibit the double negative: in the remaining one (D) *μὴ* is omitted.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 6. *ἰππεῖς * τοῦτου*] *ἰππεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ* Born. Macm., *οἱ ἰππεῖς τούτου* Vollbr., while Kühn. is satisfied with the reading in the text. But, on the assumption that the sentence is otherwise correct, the article (which appears in A) is essential to the construction.

§ 10. **ἐλῶντων καὶ διακοψόντων**] *ἐλῶντα καὶ διακόψοντα* Kühn. and the more recent editors by conjecture for *ἐλθόντα καὶ διακόψαντα* (ABCD). The earlier editors, as a rule, prefer the reading of the text which is found in several mss of inferior note. See note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER IX.

§ 13. *+ἐφ' ὅ τι προχωροίη*] *ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη* (*προσχωροίη* ABCD) is the manuscript reading, from which none of the editors have elicited a satisfactory sense. The alteration which I have suggested affords an easy clue to the origin of the corruption.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. *ῶρμηντο*] Vollbr. Born. and Macm. on the authority of C, while Kühn. edits *ῶρμῶντο* with the other leading mss.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER III.

§ 23. πορευόμεθα δ' οἴκαδε] ABDE, πορευοίμεθα δ' οἴκαδε Born., πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε Kühn. Macm. But see note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER V.

§ 25. ἐλθεῖν, ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ λέξω] ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ ἐλθεῖν, λέξω Born. and Macm. with the majority of the MSS. The collocation in the text is preferred by Kühn. and Vollbr. on the authority of AB, though Kühn. connects the phrase ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ with the infinitive which precedes it.

§ 31. ἐπὶ [ταῖς] θύραις] ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις B Kühn. Born. Macm., ἐπὶ θύραις ACDE Vollbr. See note *ad loc.*

§ 39. [οὓς] ἀπολωλέκατε] ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε is the ordinary reading, which satisfies none of the editors, and it is proposed in consequence to omit ὡς on the authority of one inferior MS. The substitution of οὓς for ὡς appears to me a simpler and more effective solution of the difficulty.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 12. *ἀρχομένους*] ἀρχομένοις Hutch. Popp., ἀρξομένους Schaeff., while Kühn. and Vollbr. accept the reading of the text, with an admission that nothing short of a radical change to ἀρχοντας will meet the requirements of the passage.

§ 25. ὅσους μὲν (ἂν) αἰσθάνοιτο] ὅσους μὲν ἠσθάνετο C and the bulk of the MSS; ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο Vollbr. Born. Macm. and the majority of the later editors. Kühn. retains the particle with ABDE, though in II. 4. 26, where it rests on similar authority, he marks it as doubtful.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κίρου] Vollbr. Born. and Macm. with the majority of the MSS: ἐν τῇ Κίρου ἀναβάσει ABDE Kühn.

§ 13. ὁποῖόν τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ] So Breitenb. with the MSS: ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ Schneid. Kühn. Vollbr. by adaptation from A (ὁποῖον μέντοι ἐστὶν δὴ): ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ δὴ Born. Macm., for which see note *ad loc.*

§ 20. ἦδειν ὅτι] ἦειν ἔτι Kühn. Vollbr. Breitenb. after the single MS E (cf. III. 2. 21): Born. and Macm. retain ἦδειν ὅτι with the rest of the MSS.

§ 36. ἀθυμοῦντας] ἀθύμους Kühn. and Vollbr. with BE and (possibly) A and D (ἀθύμ^υως—ἀθύμως).

§ 38. ὠφελησαι] ABDE and the majority of the editors: ὀνήσαι Kühn. and Vollbr. with the bulk of the mss.

§ 47. Ἀγίου Ἀρκάδος] The majority of the mss, including ABCD, supply the adjective, which (to secure uniformity) is omitted by Kühn. and some of the editors. Vollbr. adopts ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκὰς with the Eton MS and others of inferior note.

CHAPTER II.

§ 22. οὕτω κρείττονα] οὕτω, which appears in the majority of the mss including E, is omitted by Kühn. and Vollbr. but retained by Born. and Macm.

§ 25. μεγάλας] Born. and Macm. with the bulk of the mss, including E: μεγίστας, which has high authority (ABCD Kühn. and Vollbr.), is most intolerably weak.

§ 34. προσδοκᾶν] which is the manuscript reading, is retained by Born. and Macm., προσδεῖν (the suggestion of Wyttenb.) being adopted by Kühn. and Vollbr.

CHAPTER III.

§ 16. μέλλοιμεν] AB Born. Macm., μέλλομεν Kühn. Vollbr.

§ 18. ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ] ἐν τῷ ἐντεταγμένῳ Kühn. with ABD: τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ Vollbr. with the remaining mss, which, by the omission of the words ἐν τῷ, would seem to indicate the source of the corruption. See note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER IV.

§ 32. ἀπόμαχοι] οἱ ἀπόμαχοι Kühn. and Zeune with ABE. For the reasons which have led me to omit the article with Vollbr., see note *ad loc.*

§ 35. (τε)...(ποιεῖν)] Both Kühn. and Vollbr. omit these words, though they are read or suggested in all the mss with the exception of four, and the sentence seems incomplete without them.

§ 36. λύνει αὐτοὺς] So Vollbr. and the majority of the editors with AE and (by inference from κωλύειν αὐτοὺς) B. Kühn. follows Dind. in editing λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς with the remainder of the mss.

§ 46. νῦν...(χρόνον)] See note *ad loc.*

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

§ 18. διαυπερὲς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν] So Born. and Macm. with the majority of the MSS, while Kühn. and Vollbr. omit the preposition *εἰς* with ABE. But see note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER II.

§ 22. ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον] *δν ἐν λάκ. κον. εἶχον* Schn. Kühn. and Vollbr. But the MSS are unanimous in favour of the reading in the text, which is retained by Born. Macm. and the majority of the editors for the reasons given in my note.

§ 25. τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου] CD Vollbr. Born. and Macm., in place of which Kühn. edits τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς ὁδοῦ. See note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER III.

§ 30. ἐπιμελούμενοι] So Born. Macm. and all the MSS, with the exception of ADE, from which Kühn. and Vollbr. have adopted the simpler but less probable future : ἐπιμελησόμενοι.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 9. (πάντα) τὰ ἐπιτήδεια] Porpo and Vollbr. retain πάντα, which is found in all the MSS with the exception of ABDE. It is omitted by Kühn. and bracketed by Born. and Macm.

§ 14. ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας] ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας Kühn., on the sole authority of Suidas (p. 648). The majority of the editors, including Vollbr. Born. and Macm., see no sufficient reason for departing from the reading of the MSS.

CHAPTER V.

§ 3. πέντε καὶ δέκα] Kühn. and Vollbr. omit the words καὶ δέκα on the authority of a single MS (A). See note *ad loc.*

§ 8. βρωτὸν] The words ἢ ποτόν, which are added by Kühn. on the authority of AE and some of the inferior MSS, are omitted by the majority of the editors, including Vollbr. Born. and Macm.

§ 17. ἐπιπέσειεν] CE Born. and Macm., ἐπίοιεν ABD Kühn. and Vollbr.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 2. ἦγαγεν] for which Kühn. edits ἦγεν on the authority of A and E, is preferred by Vollbr. Born. and Macm. as essential to the context.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 8. *ἕως ἐπὶ*] So Vollbr. with A in place of *ἕως οὗ ἔστε*, which is the reading of the MSS: *ἔστε ἐπὶ* Born. Macm., *ἕως οὗ ἐπὶ* Kühn. on the assumption that *ἔστε* is an interpolation explanatory of the original text.

§ 9. *ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα*] Kühn. alone of recent editors has adopted *κατὰ φάλαγγα* on the authority of three MSS of very inferior note.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

§ 2. (*καθεύδων*)] The participle is omitted by Vollbr. and Breitenb., and bracketed by Schn. Born. and Macm. It is found in but one of the five leading MSS (C), on the strength of which Kühn. gives it a place in his text.

§ 7. *πλανᾶσθαι*] *πλανᾶσθε* Kühn. on the authority of AB and some inferior MSS. The majority of the editors, including Vollbr. Born. and Macm., prefer the infinitive.

CHAPTER II.

§ 12. *ἀκοντίζειν* (*δεῆσον*)] In deference to four good MSS, the greater number of the editors omit the participle after *ἀκοντίζειν* and insert it after *τοξεύειν*, but see note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER III.

§ 4. (*καὶ*) *διέλαβον*] *καὶ* is omitted by CD Vollbr. Born. and Macm. On the other hand, Kühn. retains it with ABE, but omits in consequence the stop after *γενόμενον*. See note *ad loc.*

§ 7. *ἔφυγεν*] CDE Born. and Macm., *ἔφευγεν* A Kühn. and Vollbr., *πέφευγεν* B. I have adopted *ἔφυγεν*, mainly on the authority of the late Bishop Thirlwall. See *Phil. Mus.*, p. 510.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 3. *πολέμοι εἰσιν αὐτοῖς*] *πολέμοι οὗτοί εἰσιν* Kühn. and Vollbr. But the deictic force of *οὗτοι* seems out of place in this connexion, and I have therefore followed CD Born. and Macm. in retaining the vulgate.

§ 12. *ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα τοῖον χοροί*] This reading, which is suggested in two of the better MSS, is accepted by Vollbr. and Born., though the latter editor substitutes *ὥσπερ* for *οῖον*. It has further the approval of Kühn., notwithstanding he retains the vulgate in his text: *ὥσπερ ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα οἱ χοροί*.

§ 22. (*ὀρθίων*)] I have followed Born. and Macm. in omitting this adjective on the authority of B. Without the addition of *ἑντων*, which is not found in any good MS, its position in the text is practically indefensible.

CHAPTER V.

§ 22. καὶ φίλον ποιησόμεθα] τὸν Παφλαγόνα] καὶ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν Παφ. Vollbr., καὶ φίλον ποιήσομεν τὸν Παφ. Kühn. Born. Macm., all of whom punctuate after δοκῇ and connect ἡμῖν with what follows. Zeune, on the authority of four inferior MSS, gives the passage as follows: ἂν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸν Παφ. ποιούμεθα φίλον, a reading which Kühn. notes with approval, though for ποιούμεθα he would substitute ποιησόμεθα.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 12. ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῶ ὥς ἔνα] So all the editors, with the single exception of Kühn. who retains the manuscript reading (ἱκανά, ὥς ἀριθμῶ ἔνα), which he defends on the analogy of the Latin: *numero ne unus quidem*.

§ 20. (ὥς) οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας] The majority of the editors, including Born. and Macm., omit ὥς, which does not appear in C or any of the inferior MSS. Kühn. and Vollbr. retain it, with an admission that its presence in the text is almost unintelligible.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. (τὰ) πραττόμενα] The article is omitted by Vollbr. and Dind., and bracketed by Born. and Macm. Kühn. alone retains it with ABE, though he instances no other passage in which it is similarly placed.

§ 13. πάλιν ἐλθεῖν] So all the MSS with the exception of ABE (πάλιν ἀπῆλθον) which is preferred by Kühn. and Vollbr., πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν Born. Macm. See note *ad loc.*

§ 31. τὰ ἐρυμνὰ (ὑπερδέξια)] τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ὑπερδέξια MSS, a reading which is indefensible since there is no authority for ὑπερδέξια as a substantive. Krüg. would treat either ἐρυμνὰ or ὑπερδέξια as an interpolation, but the omission of the article is perhaps a simpler alteration.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

§ 19. ἔκαστός (τις)] Kühn. and Macm. retain the indefinite τις with ABE: Vollbr. and Dind. omit it with CD.

§ 23. ἐξ Ἐφέσου (δὲ)] δὲ is omitted by AB and Vollbr., retained by Kühn. and Macm. with CDE.

§ 30. εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, (ὥς) ὀργιούνται] εἴη οὕτως ἔχει εἰ ὀργιούνται A, εἴη εἰ οὕτως ἔχει ὀργιούνται BD, εἴη εἰ οὕτως ἔχει ὀργιούνται E. The remaining MSS give the reading of the text with ἔχει in place of ἔχει. Kühn. and Vollbr. edit εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, εἰ ὀργιούνται by adaptation from A, while Macm. adopts the reading of E and punctuates thus: εἴη· εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, ὀργιούνται.

CHAPTER II.

§ 8. βουλευέσθαι] So Vollbr. and Macm. after the majority of the MSS, οὐ βουλευέσθαι B, βουλευέσθαι A, which is followed by Kühn.

§ 14. οἱ αὐτῶν] Macm. and Vollbr., οἱ αὐτῶν Kühn.

CHAPTER V.

§ 13. τοιοῦτον (ὃν τὸ) νάπος] τοιοῦτο νάπος A, τοιοῦτον νάπος BCD. The words ὃν τὸ are omitted by Vollbr., bracketed by Poppo and retained by Kühn. and Macm.

§ 25. εἰς προβολήν] So ACE with Vollbr. and Macm. in place of προσβολήν, which is preferred by Kühn. and Zeune.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 5. †ἄλλοι ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν†] So Dind. who is followed by Vollbr., καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ εἰλήφεσαν MSS and Kühn., καὶ οἰχόμενοι ἄλλος ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν Schneid., καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοσε εἰς τὸ ὄρος Born.

§ 15. καταδικάζω ἑαυτοῦ] CDE with Vollbr. and Macm., καταδικάζω ἑαυτοῦ AB and Kühn.

§ 29. συνεβούλευε] CDE with Vollbr. and Macm., συνεβουλεύετο Kühn. with AB.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

§ 4. ἀπαγγελεῖν] So Dind. Vollbr. and Macm. after A (ἀπαγγέλειν): Kühn. edits ἀπαγγέλλειν with the other MSS.

§ 31. εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλ' ἢν μὲν δυνώμεθα] Kühn. and Macm. place only a comma after πόλιν, connecting the clause with what follows, but the emphatic position of μὲν is suggestive of an *aprosiopesis*, for which see note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER II.

§ 3. *διαδύντες* τὰ ὄπλα (κατὰ τοὺς χώρους)] διδύντες τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς χώρους MSS, *διαδύντες* τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς χώρους Born. Kühn. The words κατὰ τοὺς χώρους are omitted by Macm., and the entire passage by Muret. and Vollbr.

§ 15. εἰ παρείεν] So Born. Dind. Vollbr. and Macm. for εἴπερ εἶεν which is found in A. Kühn. reads προεἶεν with the other MSS: Schneid. ἐφέειν.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ] So Vollbr. and Macm. with the majority of the MSS: Kühn. omits the article with AB.

§ 22. Σεύθης (καὶ) ἀνελόμενος] καὶ is retained by AB and Kühn., omitted by the other MSS, Vollbr. and Macm. Krüg. suggests the possibility of a lacuna after the words νόμος γὰρ ἦν, which he would supply thus: τούτους διανέμειν.

CHAPTER V.

§ 8. παραδώσει] CDE Macm., παραδώσειν AB Kühn. Born. and Vollbr. But see note on the passage.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 3. ἐπὶ ξενία] So Vollbr. Krüg. (ed. min.) with BCDE, while Kühn. Hutch. and Macm. edit ἐπὶ ξενία with A and one other MS.

§ 24. οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον (εἰ) προσῆτε πόλιν] Macm. follows AB in omitting εἰ and retaining δὲ ('Αρίσταρχος δέ), while Vollbr. adopts the converse alternative: οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον, εἰ προσῆτε τῇ πόλει, 'Αρίσταρχος ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. Born. and Kühn. retain εἰ with the majority of the MSS, and δὲ with AB.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 3. ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ] So Zeune and the majority of the editors after a single MS, ὅδε ἀνὴρ Kühn. and Vollbr. in place of the vulgate ὁδε ἀνὴρ.

§ 24. ἀνύσασθαι] ἀνύσεσθαι Kühn., which is apparently a typographical error.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. γεγραφότος] DE Vollbr. and Macm., γεγραφεκότος ABC and Kühn.

§ 6. (Εὐκλείδης)] Εὐκλείδης (which is avowedly corrupt) Kühn. and Macm., Ναυσικλείδης Vollbr., Εὐσικλείδης (to all appearance) ABE.

APPENDIX TO NOTE ON II. IV. 12,

ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδείας καλούμενον τείχος, καὶ παρήλθον εἴσω αὐτοῦ.

The words παρήλθον εἴσω αὐτοῦ represent in themselves a question of very considerable importance to the student, since on the meaning to be assigned to them will depend not only his interpretation of the present passage and of the corresponding one in I. 7. 15, but also his general conception of the course taken by the Greeks in this, the early portion of the Retreat. Macmichael considers 'they can only signify an entry through the Wall into Babylonia'. Hutchinson and Mr Taylor take the same view, together with Bishop Thirlwall, who further expresses his conviction that, in all cases in which it is joined with a verb of motion, εἴσω must bear the signification of *to the inside*, not *on the inside*. It was in deference to their combined authority that, in a note on I. 7. 15, I expressed a general acquiescence in the theory propounded by Mr Taylor, that, whatever import we may attach to the description of the Wall which appears in the First Book, it was crossed by the Greeks for the first time *on the present occasion*: a conclusion which necessitated our giving a different direction to the Wall than that taken by the ruins now known as *Sidd Nimrud*, with which it had hitherto been proposed to identify it. However, since writing the note in question, I have called to mind a passage in Thucydides (III. 22), where the phrase we are considering is very nearly illustrated in the words καὶ οἱ τριακῆσιοι αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐτέτακτο παραβοθεῖν εἴ τι δέοι, ἐχώρουν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοήν, the meaning of which is definitely fixed by the context to be as follows: 'they moved along *outside the wall* in the direction of the cry'. This use of ἔξω will clearly justify an analogous rendering of εἴσω in the present instance, in spite of the numerous authorities who have agreed to regard the phrase παρήλθον εἴσω as a simple equivalent for διέβησαν. Moreover, the verb παρέρχομαι is a technical term with military writers to denote the forward advance of an army. Compare, by way of illustration, such passages as the following: παρήλθον εἰς Ταμύνας οἱ ἄλλοι (Dem. περὶ ὀνομ. § 999), and a corresponding use of the compound παράγειν in III. 4. 21 of the present work. We have now to consider how far this rendering will affect our conclusions as to the geography of the Retreat.

After a further examination of all the passages which bear upon this portion of the march I am induced to return to the opinion expressed by Ainsworth, Ross, Lynch and the majority of the commentators that the so-called Median Wall was in fact identical with the ruins now known as *Sidd Nimrud*. These (according to the account furnished to Ross by his Bedouin guides) form the remains of a structure which for a portion of its length was clearly built of brick, though in some places it is now worn level with the surface of the desert. It extended apparently from a point below *Opis*, on the west bank of the *Tigris*, as far as the *Euphrates*, which it joined at a position a little below that of *Pylae*. This Wall I conceive to have been crossed *but once* by the Greeks at some earlier stage of the narrative—in connexion

possibly with their entry by way of *Pylae*—as the theory suggested by Ainsworth that they retraced their steps to *Pylae*, and so placed themselves on the north side of the Wall, is somewhat suspiciously adapted to suit the supposed requirements of the verb *παρήλθον*. According to this view, the Greeks now meet the Wall for the second time, but *without crossing it*. In the author's words, as I understand them, they 'advanced along the inner side of it'.

The above explanation, which I believe to be in strict keeping with the language of the narrative (*παρήλθον εἶσω*), will also meet all the difficulties which have been raised in connexion with the situation of *Sittake* and the distances travelled by the troops before reaching it, while it is highly probable that the bend to the north-west, which brought the travellers into fresh proximity with the Median Wall, may have been made in the endeavour to avoid the *Ihur*, as well as the marshes of *Akka Kuf*. It is certainly surprising that no record should have been left us by Xenophon of the occasion on which the Greeks actually crossed the Wall, whether the passage was effected at *Pylae* or at some other stage of the upward route. But the theory countenanced by Ainsworth and Macmichael—that the Wall at its western end was even at that time in a ruined state, and presented few traces of its existence—will not only account for the author's silence, but also for his statement that it was 'not far distant from Babylon' (II. 4. 12), whereas the ruins of *Sidd Nimrud* are, by Rennell's shewing, about 100 miles above Babylon at their south-western extremity. If we suppose Xenophon to have been ignorant of the fact that he had actually crossed the Wall in the neighbourhood of *Pylae*, it is not to be wondered at that, as he continued his march and met no traces of its existence, he should have concluded that its western end lay in the direction of Babylon, at a point further south than *Cunaxa*, where his own experiences terminated.

Let me quote in conclusion a passage from Colonel Chesney's narrative, in which he gives a short summary of his own views concerning the present portion of the *Katabasis*, and pronounces very distinctly in favour of the above theory. 'The Greeks (he says) came up to and departed from the Median Wall into the interior. This wall was of bricks, and once 100 feet high and 20 feet thick. It is still to be traced with its towers and ditch, running south-westward from the *Tigris*, nearly opposite *Kadisiyeh*, to the *Euphrates* near *Felujah*, a distance of forty-two or forty-three miles'.

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